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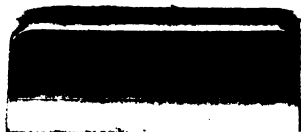
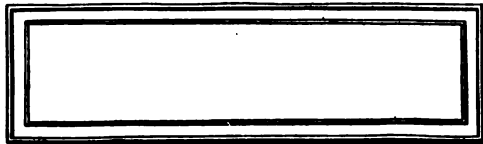
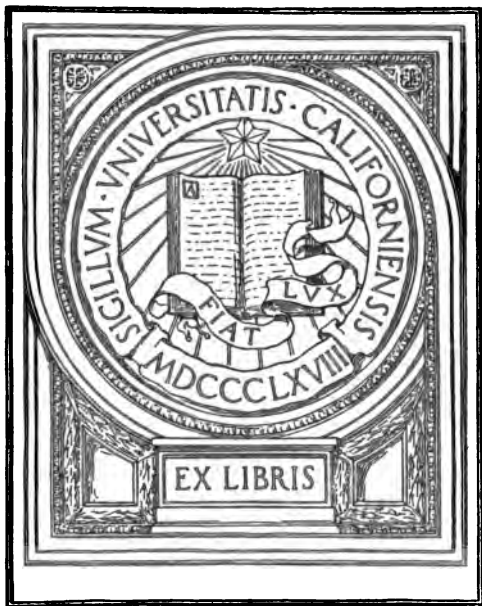
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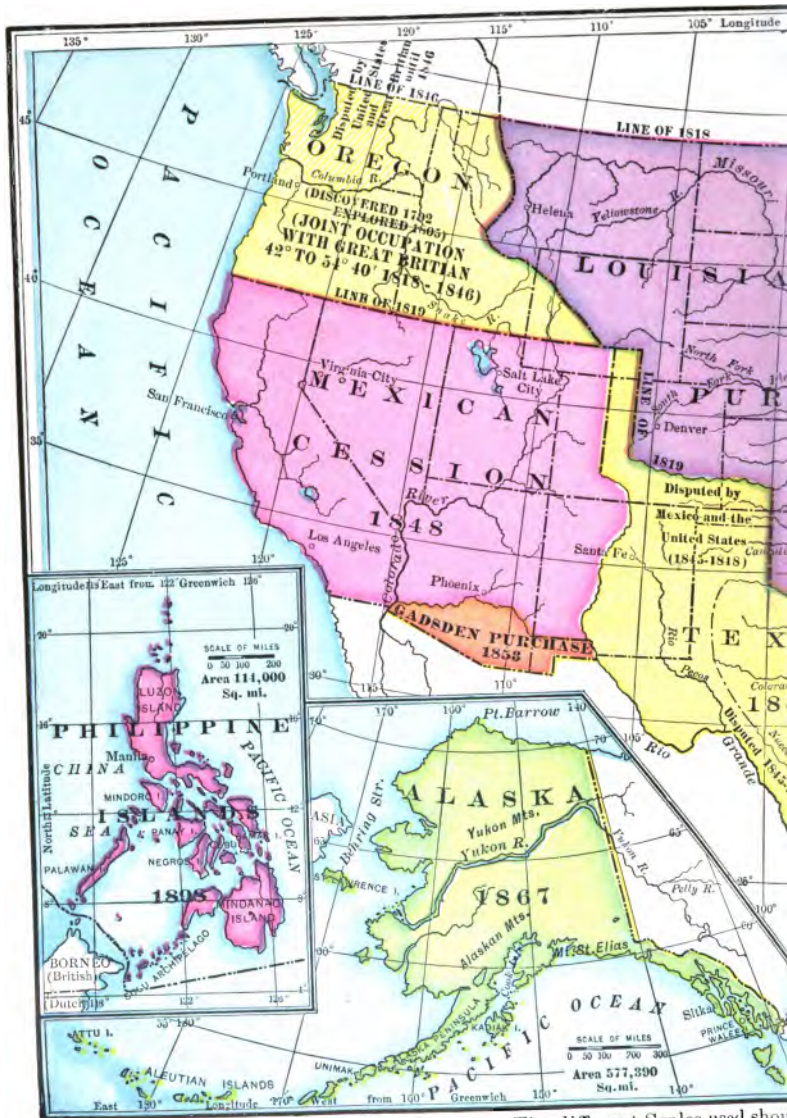
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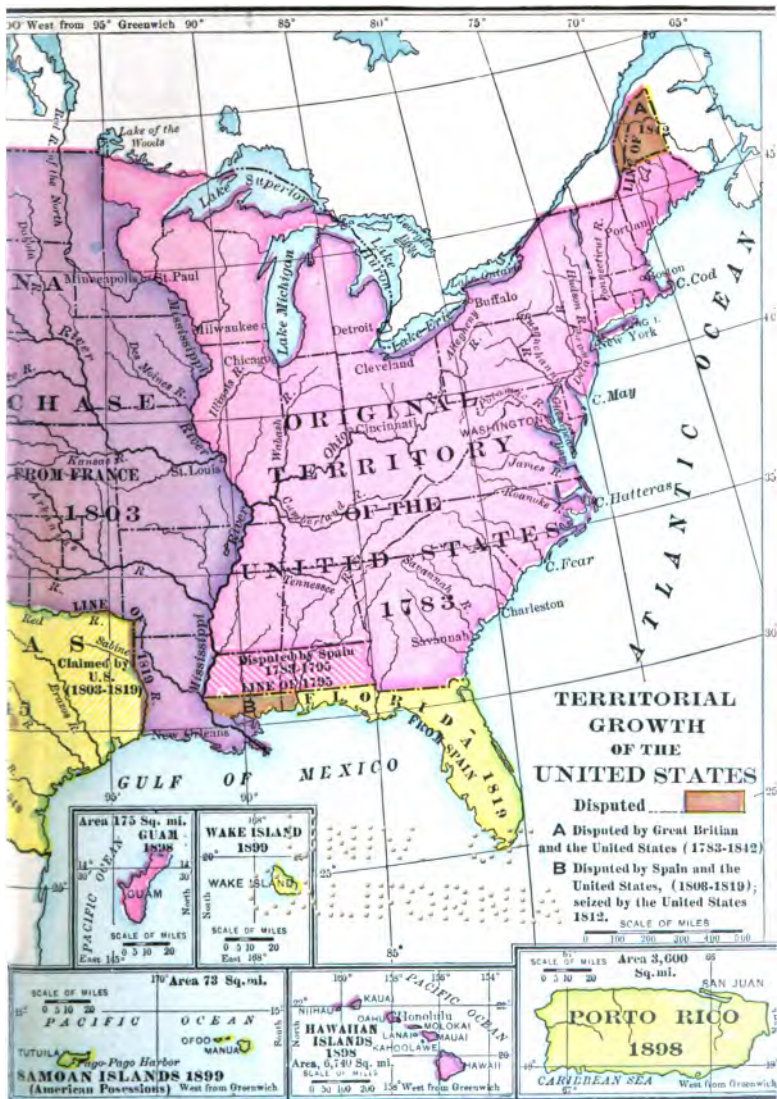
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and be noted with particular care.)

TO THE
LEGISLATIVE

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM ABORIGINAL TIMES
TO TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION

By
JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, A.M., LL.D.

ACADEMIC EDITION
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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CHAPTER III

NEW YORK UNDER THE ENGLISH

RICHARD NICOLLS, the first English governor of New York, began his duties by settling the boundaries of his province. It was a work full of trouble and vexation. As early as 1623 the whole of Long Island had been granted to the earl of Stirling. Connecticut also claimed and occupied all that part of the island included in the present county of Suffolk. Against both of these claimants the patent of the duke of York was now to be enforced by his deputy Nicolls. The claim of Stirling was fairly purchased by the governor, but the pretensions of Connecticut were arbitrarily set aside. This action was the source of so much discontent that the duke was constrained to compensate Connecticut by making a favorable change in her southwest boundary-line.

Two months before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, the irregular territory between the Hudson and the Delaware, as far north as a point on the latter river in the latitude of forty-one degrees and forty minutes, was granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This district, corresponding, except on the northern

boundary, with the present State of New Jersey, was now wrested from the jurisdiction of New York, and a separate government established by the proprietors. The country below the Delaware, until recently called New Sweden, but now named The Territories, was consolidated with New York and ruled by deputies appointed by the governors of that province. Finally, the new name conferred by Nicolls on his capital was extended to all the country formerly called New Netherland.

In 1667, Nicolls was superseded by Lovelace. With less ability and generosity than his predecessor, he proved a greater tyrant. The bad principles of the system established by the duke of York were now fully developed. The people became dissatisfied and gloomy. Protests against the government and petitions for redress were constantly presented, and constantly rejected with contempt. "If there is any more murmuring against the taxes, make them so heavy that the people can do nothing but think how to pay them," said Lovelace in his instructions to his deputy. The Dutch and the English colonists were always friends. Not once in the whole history of the country did they lift the sword against each other. Even while England and Holland were at war, as they were in 1652-54, the American subjects of the two nations remained at peace. Another war followed that act of violence by which, in 1664, the duke of York possessed himself of New Netherland; but the conflict did not

extend to America. A third time, in 1672, Charles II. was induced by the king of France to begin a contest with the Dutch government. This time, indeed, the struggle extended to the colonies, and New York was revolutionized, but not by the action of her own people. In 1673 a small squadron was fitted out by Holland and placed under command of the gallant Captain Evertsen. The fleet sailed for America, and arrived before Manhattan on the 30th of July. Within four hours after the arrival of the squadron the fort was surrendered. The city capitulated, and the whole province yielded without a struggle. New Jersey and Delaware sent in their submission; the name of New Netherland was revived; and the authority of Holland was restored from Connecticut to Maryland.

The reconquest of New York by the Dutch was only a brief military occupation of the country. The civil authority of Holland was never re-established. In 1674, Charles II. was obliged by his Parliament to conclude a treaty of peace. There was the usual clause requiring the restoration of all conquests made during the war. New York reverted to the English government, and the rights of the duke were again recognized in the province. To make his authority doubly secure for the future, he obtained from his brother, the king, a new patent confirming the provisions of the former charter. The man who now received the appointment of deputy-governor of New York was none other than Sir Edmund Andros.

It was a sad sort of government for the people. The worst practices of Lovelace's administration were revived. The principles of arbitrary rule were openly avowed. Taxes were levied without authority of law, and the appeals and protests of the people were treated with derision. The clamor for a popular legislative assembly had become so great that Andros was on the point of yielding. He even wrote a letter to the duke of York advising that thick-headed prince to grant the people the right of electing a colonial legislature. The duke replied that popular assemblies were seditious and dangerous; that they only fostered discontent and disturbed the peace of the government; and finally, that *he did not see any use for them*.

At the close of Andros's administration, in 1683, Thomas Dongan, a Catholic, became governor of New York. For thirty years the people had been clamoring for a general assembly. Just before Andros left the province, the demand became more vehement than ever. The retiring governor, himself of a despotic disposition, counseled the duke to concede the right of representation to the people. At last James yielded, not so much with the view of extending popular rights, as with the hope of increasing his revenues from the improved condition of his province. Dongan, the new governor, came with full instructions to call an assembly of all the freeholders of New York, by whom certain persons of their own number should be elected to take part in the government.

The first act of the new assembly was to declare that the supreme legislative power of the province resided in the governor, the council, and the People. All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established; taxes should no more be levied except by consent of the assembly; soldiers should not be quartered on the people; martial law should not exist; no person accepting the general doctrines of religion should be in any wise distressed or persecuted. All the rights and privileges of Massachusetts and Virginia were carefully written by the zealous law-makers of New York in their first charter of liberties.

In July of 1684 an important treaty was concluded at Albany. The governors of New York and Virginia were met in convention by the sachems of the Iroquois, and the terms of a lasting peace were settled. A long war ensued between the Five Nations and the French. The French of Canada employed every artifice and intrigue to induce the Indians to break their treaty with the English, but all to no purpose; the alliance was faithfully observed. In 1684, and again in 1687, the French invaded the territory of the Iroquois; but the mighty Mohawks and Oneidas drove back their foes with loss and disaster. By the barrier of the friendly Five Nations on the north, the English and Dutch colonies were screened from danger.

In 1685 the duke of York became king of England. It was soon found that even the monarch

of a great nation could violate his pledges. King James became the open antagonist of the government which had been established under his own directions. The popular legislature of New York was abrogated. An odious tax was levied by an arbitrary decree. Printing-presses were forbidden in the province. All the old abuses were revived and made a public boast.

In December of 1686, Edmund Andros became governor of all New England. It was a part of his plan to extend his dominion over New York and New Jersey. To the former province, Francis Nicholson, the lieutenant-general of Andros, was sent as deputy. Dongan was superseded, and until the English Revolution of 1688, New York was ruled as a dependency of New England. When the news of that event and of the accession of William of Orange reached the province, there was a general tumult of rejoicing. The people rose in rebellion against the government of Nicholson, who was glad enough to escape from New York and return to England.

The leader of the insurrection was Jacob Leisler, a captain of the militia. A committee of ten took upon themselves the task of reorganizing the government. Leisler was commissioned to take possession of the fort of New York. Most of the troops in the city, together with five hundred volunteers, proceeded against the fort, which was surrendered without a struggle. A provisional government was organized, with Leisler at the head. The provincial councilors, who were

friends and adherents of the deposed Nicholson, left the city and repaired to Albany. Here the party who were opposed to the usurpation of Leisler proceeded to organize a second provisional government. Both factions were careful to exercise authority in the name of William and Mary, the new sovereigns of England.

In September of 1689, Milborne, the son-in-law of Leisler, was sent to Albany to demand the surrender of the town and fort. Courtland and Bayard, who were the leaders of the northern faction, opposed the demand with so much vigor that Milborne was obliged to retire without accomplishing his object. Such was the condition of affairs at the beginning of King William's War. Such was the dispiriting effect of these disasters upon the people of Albany and the north that a second effort made by Milborne against the government of the opposing faction was successful; and in the spring of 1690 the authority of Leisler as temporary governor of New York was recognized throughout the province. The summer was spent in fruitless preparations to invade and conquer Canada. The general assembly was convened at the capital; but little was accomplished except a formal recognition of the insurrectionary government of Leisler.

In January of 1691, Richard Ingoldsby arrived at New York. He bore a commission as captain, and brought the intelligence that Colonel Sloughter had been appointed royal governor of the province. Leisler received Ingoldsby with courtesy,

and offered him quarters in the city; but the latter, without authority from either the king or the governor, haughtily demanded the surrender of His Majesty's fort. Leisler refused to yield, but expressed his willingness to submit to anyone who bore a commission from King William or Colonel Sloughter. On the 19th of March the governor himself arrived; and Leisler on the same day dispatched messengers, tendering his service and submission. The messengers were arrested, and Ingoldsby, the enemy and rival of Leisler, was sent with verbal orders for the surrender of the fort. Leisler foresaw his doom, and hesitated. He wrote a letter to Sloughter, expressing a desire to make a personal surrender of the post to the governor. The letter was unanswered; Ingoldsby pressed his demand; Leisler wavered, capitulated, and with Milborne was seized and hurried to prison.

As soon as the royal government was organized the two prisoners were brought to trial. The charge was rebellion and treason. The prisoners refused to plead, were convicted, and sentenced to death. Sloughter, however, determined to know the pleasure of the king before putting the sentence into execution. But the royalist assembly of New York had already come together, and the members were resolved that the prisoners should be hurried to their death. The governor was invited to a banquet; and when heated with strong drink, the death-warrant was thrust before him for his signature. He succeeded in affixing his name to the

fatal parchment; and almost before the fumes of his drunken revel had passed away, his victims had met their fate. On the 16th of May, Leisler and Milborne were brought from prison, led through a drenching rain to the scaffold, and hanged. Within less than a year afterward, their estates, which had been confiscated, were restored to their heirs; and in 1695 the attainder of the families was removed.

Soon after this, Slougher's career was cut short by death. He was succeeded in the office of governor by Benjamin Fletcher, a man of bad passions and poor abilities. The new executive arrived in September of 1692. One of the first measures of his administration was to renew the recent treaty with the Iroquois. It was at this time the avowed purpose of the English monarch to place under a common government all the territory between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay. To further this project, Fletcher was armed with an ample and comprehensive commission. He was made governor of New York, and commander-in-chief not only of the troops of his own province, but also of the militia of Connecticut and New Jersey. In the latter province he met with little opposition; but the Puritans of Hartford resisted so stubbornly that the alarmed and disgusted governor was glad to return to his own capital.

In 1696 the territory of New York was invaded by the French under Frontenac, governor of Canada. The faithful Iroquois made common cause

with the colonial forces, and the formidable expedition of the French was turned into confusion. Before the loss could be repaired and a second invasion undertaken, King William's War was ended by the treaty of Ryswick. In the following year, the earl of Bellomont, an Irish nobleman of excellent character and popular sympathies, succeeded Fletcher in the government of New York. His administration of less than four years was the happiest era in the history of the colony. His authority, like that of his predecessor, extended over a part of New England. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were under his jurisdiction, but Connecticut and Rhode Island remained independent.

In striking contrast with the virtues and wisdom of Bellomont were the vices and folly of Lord Cornbury, who succeeded him. He arrived at New York in the beginning of May, 1702. A month previously the proprietors of New Jersey had surrendered their rights in the province to the English Crown. All obstacles being thus removed, the two colonies were formally united in one government under the authority of Cornbury. For a period of thirty-six years the territories, though with separate assemblies, continued under the jurisdiction of a single executive.

One of Cornbury's first acts was to forge a clause in his own commission. Desiring to foster the Established Church, and finding nothing to that effect in his instructions, he made instructions for himself. At first the people received him with

great favor. The assembly voted two thousand pounds sterling to compensate him for the expenses of his voyage. In order to improve and fortify the Narrows, an additional sum of fifteen hundred pounds was granted. The money was taken out of the treasury, but no improvement was visible at the Narrows. The representatives modestly inquired what had become of their revenues. Lord Cornbury replied that the assembly of New York had no right to ask questions until the queen should give them permission. The old and oft-repeated conflict between personal despotism and popular liberty broke out anew. Cornbury became a violent partisan, favoring the enemies and persecuting the friends of that unfortunate leader; and so from year to year matters grew constantly worse, until between the governor and his people there existed no relation but that of mutual hatred.

In 1708 the civil dissensions of the province reached a climax. Each succeeding assembly resisted more stubbornly the measures of the governor. Time and again the people petitioned for his removal. The councilors selected their own treasurer, refused to vote appropriations, and curtailed Cornbury's revenues until he was impoverished and ruined. Then came Lord Lovelace with a commission from Queen Anne, and the passionate, wretched governor was unceremoniously turned out of office. Left to the mercy of his injured subjects, they arrested him for debt and threw him into prison, where he lay until, by his

father's death, he became a peer of England and could be no longer held in confinement.

During the progress of Queen Anne's War the troops of New York co-operated with the army and navy of New England. Eighteen hundred volunteers from the Hudson and the Delaware composed the land forces in the unsuccessful expedition against Montreal in the winter of 1709-10. The provincial army proceeded as far as South River, east of Lake George. Here information was received that the English fleet which was expected to co-operate in the reduction of Quebec had been sent to Portugal; the armament of New England was insufficient of itself to attempt the conquest of the Canadian stronghold; and the troops of New York and New Jersey were obliged to retreat. Again, in 1711, when the incompetent Sir Hovenden Walker was pretending to conduct his fleet up the St. Lawrence, and was in reality only anxious to get away, the army which was to invade Canada by land was furnished by New York. A second time the provincial forces reached Lake George; but the dispiriting news of the disaster to Walker's fleet destroyed all hope of success, and the discouraged soldiers returned to their homes.

In 1713 the treaty of Utrecht put an end to the conflict, and peace returned to the American colonies. In this year the Tuscaroras of Carolina—a nation of the same race with the Iroquois and Hurons of the North—were defeated and driven from their homes by the Southern colonists. The

haughty tribe marched northward, crossed the middle colonies, and joined their warlike kinsmen on the St. Lawrence, making the sixth nation in the Iroquois confederacy. Nine years later a great council was held at Albany. There the grand sachems of the Six Nations were met by the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. An important commercial treaty was formed, by which the extensive and profitable fur-trade of the Indians, which, until now, had been engrossed by the French, was diverted to the English. In order to secure the full benefits of this arrangement, Governor Burnett of New York hastened to establish a trading-post at Oswego, on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Five years later a substantial fort was built at the same place and furnished with an English garrison. As late as the middle of the century, Oswego continued to be the only fortified outpost of the English in the entire country drained by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. The French, meanwhile, had built a strong fort at Niagara, and another at Crown Point, on the western shore of Lake Champlain. The struggle for colonial supremacy between the two nations was already beginning.

The administration of Governor Cosby, who succeeded Burnett in 1732, was a stormy epoch in the history of the colony. The people were in a constant struggle with the royal governors. At this time the contest took the form of a dispute about the freedom of the press. The liberal or democratic party of the province held that a pub-

lic journal might criticise the acts of the administration and publish views distasteful to the government. The aristocratic party opposed such liberty as a dangerous license, which, if permitted, would soon sap the foundations of all authority. Zenger, an editor of one of the liberal newspapers, published hostile criticisms on the policy of the governor, was seized, and put in prison. Great excitement ensued. The people were clamorous for their champion. Andrew Hamilton, a noted lawyer of Philadelphia, went to New York to defend Zenger, who was brought to trial in July of 1735. The charge was libel against the government; the cause was ably argued, and the jury made haste to bring in a verdict of acquittal. The aldermen of the city of New York, in order to testify their appreciation of Hamilton's services in the cause of liberty, made him a present of an elegant gold box, and the people were wild with enthusiasm over their victory.

New York, like Massachusetts, was once visited with a fatal delusion. In the year 1741 occurred what is known as the Negro Plot. Slavery was permitted in the province, and negroes constituted a large fraction of the population. Several destructive fires had occurred, and it was believed that they had been kindled by incendiaries. The slaves were naturally distrusted; now they became feared and hated. Some degraded women came forward and gave information that the negroes had made a plot to burn the city, kill all who opposed them, and set up one of their own number

as governor. The whole story was the essence of absurdity; but the people were alarmed, and were ready to believe anything. The reward of freedom was offered to any slave who would reveal the plot. Many witnesses rushed forward with foolish and contradictory stories; the jails were filled with the accused; and more than thirty of the miserable creatures, with hardly the form of a trial, were convicted and then hanged or burned to death. Others were transported and sold as slaves in foreign lands. As soon as the supposed peril had passed and the excited people regained their senses, it came to be doubted whether the whole shocking affair had not been the result of terror and fanaticism. The verdict of after times has been *that there was no plot at all*.

During the progress of King George's War the territory of New York was several times invaded by the French and Indians. But the invasions were feeble and easily repelled.

Such is the history of the little colony planted on Manhattan Island. A hundred and thirty years have passed since the first feeble settlements were made; now the great valley of the Hudson is filled with beautiful farms and teeming villages. The Walloons of Flanders and the Puritans of New England have blended into a common people. Discord and contention, though bitter while they lasted, have borne only the peaceful fruit of colonial liberty. There are other and greater struggles through which New York must

pass, other burdens to be borne, other calamities to be endured, other fires in which her sons must be tried and purified, before they gain their freedom. But the oldest and greatest of the middle colonies has entered upon a glorious career, and the ample foundations of an Empire State are securely laid.

CHAPTER IV

NEW JERSEY

THE history of New Jersey begins with the founding of Elizabethtown, in 1664. As early as 1618 a feeble trading station had been established at Bergen, west of the Hudson; but forty years passed before permanent dwellings were built in that neighborhood. In 1623 the block-house, called Fort Nassau, was erected on the Delaware, and after a few months' occupancy was abandoned.

All the territory of New Jersey was included in the grant made by King Charles to his brother, the duke of York. Two months before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, that portion of the duke's province lying between the Hudson and the Delaware, extending as far north as forty-one degrees and forty minutes, was assigned by the duke to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The next year the work of colonization began. Elizabethtown, named in honor of Sir George Carteret's wife, was

settled, and soon Puritans from New England, especially of New Haven, because of dissatisfaction there, found homes in the new colony.

Elizabethtown was made the capital of the colony; other immigrants arrived from Long Island and settled on the banks of the Passaic; Newark was founded; flourishing hamlets appeared on the shores of the bay as far south as Sandy Hook. In honor of Sir George Carteret, who had been governor of the Isle of Jersey, in the English Channel, his American domain was named New Jersey.

Berkeley and Carteret, though royalists themselves, provided for their new State an excellent constitution. Person and property were put under the protection of law. The government was made to consist of a governor, a council, and a popular legislative assembly. There should be no taxation unless levied by the representatives of the people. Difference of opinion should be respected, and freedom of conscience guaranteed to every citizen. The proprietors reserved to themselves only the right of annulling objectionable acts of the assembly and of appointing the governor and colonial judges. The lands of the province were distributed to the settlers for a quit-rent of a half-penny per acre, not to be paid until 1670. The first general assembly, which met in 1668, was dominated by the Puritan element, which left its impress in the laws. When the first quit-rents fell due in 1670 many of the settlers refused to pay the rent, claiming they had purchased the land

from the Indians or held title from the governor of New York. The people rose in rebellion, took the government into their own hands, deposed the governor, and called James Carteret, an illegitimate son of the proprietor, in his stead.

In 1673 the Dutch succeeded in retaking New York from the English. For a few months the old province of New Netherland, including the country as far south as the Delaware, was restored to Holland. But in the next year the whole territory was re-ceded by the states-general to England. The duke of York now received from his brother, the king, a second patent for the country between the Connecticut and the Delaware, and at the same time confirmed his former grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret. Then, in utter disregard of the rights of the two proprietors, the duke appointed Sir Edmund Andros as royal governor of the whole province. Carteret determined to defend his claim against the authority of Andros; but Lord Berkeley, disgusted with the duke's vacillation and dishonesty, sold his interest in New Jersey to two English Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge.

In 1675, Philip Carteret returned to America and resumed the government of the province from which he had been expelled. Andros opposed him in every act; claimed New Jersey as a part of his own dominions; kept the colony in an uproar; compelled the ships which came a-trading with the new settlements to pay tribute at New York; and finally arrested Carteret and brought

him to his own capital for trial. Meanwhile, Byllinge became embarrassed with debt, and was forced to make an assignment of his property to a board of Quaker trustees, of whom William Penn was one.

Penn and his associates at once applied to Sir George Carteret for a division of the province. That nobleman was both willing and anxious to enter into an arrangement by which his own half of the territory could be freed from all encumbrance. After much discussion an agreement was reached in the summer of 1676, and a line of division was drawn through the province directly from Little Egg Harbor to the Delaware Water Gap. The territory lying east of this line remained to Sir George as sole proprietor, and was named East Jersey; while that portion lying between the line and the Delaware was called West Jersey, and passed under the exclusive control of Penn and his associates.

Early in the following March the Quaker proprietors completed and published a body of laws under the singular title of Concessions. But the name was significant, for everything was conceded to the people. This first simple code enacted by the Friends in America rivaled the charter of Connecticut in the liberality and purity of its principles. The authors of the instrument accompanied its publication with a general letter addressed to the Quakers of England, recommending the province and inviting immigration. The invitation was not in vain. Before the end of the year a colony

of more than four hundred Friends arrived in the Delaware, and found homes in West Jersey.

In November of 1681, Jennings, the deputy-governor of West Jersey, convened the first general assembly of the province. The men who had so worried the aristocracy of England by wearing their hats in the presence of great men, and by saying *Thee* and *Thou*, now met together to make their own laws. The code was brief and simple. The doctrines of the Concessions were reaffirmed. Men of all races and of all religions were declared to be equal before the law. No superiority was conceded to rank or title, to wealth or royal birth. Imprisonment for debt was forbidden. The sale of ardent spirits to the Red men was prohibited. Taxes should be voted by the representatives of the people. The lands of the Indians should be acquired by honorable purchase. Finally, a criminal—unless a murderer, traitor, or a thief—might be pardoned by the person against whom the offense was committed.

In 1682, William Penn and eleven other Friends purchased of the heirs of Carteret the province of East Jersey. Robert Barclay, an eminent Quaker of Aberdeen, in Scotland, was appointed governor for life. The whole of New Jersey was now under the authority of the Friends. The administration of Barclay, which continued until his death, in 1690, was chiefly noted for a large immigration of Scotch Quakers, who left the governor's native country to find freedom in East Jersey. The persecuted Presbyteri-

ans of Scotland came to the province in still greater numbers.

On the accession of James II., in 1685, the American colonies from Maine to Delaware were consolidated, and Edmund Andros appointed royal governor. But not until 1688 were New York and the two Jerseys brought under his jurisdiction. The short reign of King James was already at an end before Andros could succeed in setting up a despotism on the ruin of colonial liberty. When the news came of the abdication and flight of the English monarch, the governor of New England could do nothing but surrender to the indignant people whom he had wronged and insulted. His arrest and imprisonment was the signal for the restoration of popular government in all the colonies over which he had ruled.

But the condition of New Jersey was deplorable. It was almost impossible to tell to whom the jurisdiction of the territory rightfully belonged. So far as the eastern province was concerned, the representatives of Carteret claimed it; the governor of New York claimed it; Penn and his associates claimed it. As to the western province, the heirs of Byllinge claimed it; Penn and his associates claimed it; the governor of New York claimed it. Over all these pretensions stood the paramount claim of the English king. From 1689 to 1692 there was no settled form of government in the territory; and the Jerseys were left almost in a state of anarchy for more than ten years. The problem was at last

solved by the different claimants relinquishing their right of government to the English Crown, they retaining only the ownership of the soil. Thus, in 1702, New Jersey became a royal province. While it had its own legislature, it shared with New York, for thirty-six years, the latter's governor. Finally, in 1738, the two colonies were separated.

The people of New Jersey were but little disturbed by the successive Indian wars. The native tribes on this part of the American coast were weak and timid. Had it not been for the cruelties of Kieft and the wrongs of other governors of New York, the peace of the middle colonies would never have been broken. The province of New Jersey is specially interesting as being the point where the civilization of New England met and blended with the civilization of the South. Here the institutions, manners, and laws of the Pilgrims were first modified by contact with the less rigid habits and opinions of the people who came with Gosnold and Smith. The dividing-line between East and West Jersey is also the dividing-line between the austere Puritans of Massachusetts and the chivalrous cavaliers of Virginia. Happily, along this dividing-line the men of peace, the followers of Penn and Barclay, came and dwelt as if to subdue ill-will and make a Union possible.

CHAPTER V

PENNSYLVANIA

THE Quakers were greatly encouraged with the success of their colonies in West New Jersey. The prospect of establishing on the banks of the Delaware a free State, founded on the principle of universal brotherhood, kindled a new enthusiasm in the mind of William Penn. For more than a quarter of a century the Friends had been buffeted with shameful persecutions. Imprisonment, exile, and proscription had been their constant portion, but had not sufficed to abate their zeal or to quench their hopes of the future. The lofty purpose and philanthropic spirit of Penn urged him to find for his afflicted people an asylum of rest. In June, of 1680 he went boldly to King Charles, and petitioned for a grant of territory and the privilege of founding a Quaker commonwealth in the New World.

The petition was seconded by powerful friends in Parliament. On the 5th of March, 1681, a charter was granted; the great seal of England, with the signature of Charles II., was affixed; and William Penn became the proprietor of Pennsylvania. The vast domain embraced under the new patent was bounded on the east by the river Delaware, extended north and south over three degrees of latitude, and westward through five degrees of longitude. Only the three counties

comprising the present State of Delaware were reserved for the duke of York.

In consideration of this grant, Penn relinquished a claim of sixteen thousand pounds sterling which the British government owed to his father's estate. He declared that his objects were to found a free commonwealth without respect to the color, race, or religion of the inhabitants; to subdue the natives with no other weapons than love and justice; to establish a refuge for the people of his own faith; and to enlarge the borders of the British empire. One of the first acts of the great proprietor was to address a letter to the Swedes who might be included within the limits of his province, telling them to be of good cheer, to keep their homes, make their own laws, and fear no oppression.

Within a month from the date of his charter, Penn published to the English nation a glowing account of his new country beyond the Delaware, praising the beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the climate, promising freedom of conscience and equal rights, and inviting emigration. There was an immediate and hearty response. In the course of the summer three shiploads of Quaker emigrants left England for the land of promise. William Markham, agent of the proprietor, came as leader of the company and deputy-governor of the province. He was instructed by Penn to rule in accordance with law, to deal justly with all men, and especially to make a league of friendship with the Indians. In October of the same

year the anxious proprietor sent a letter directly to the natives of the territory, assuring them of his honest purposes and brotherly affection.

The next care of Penn was to draw up a frame of government for his province. The constitution which he framed was liberal almost to a fault; and the people were allowed to adopt or reject it as they might deem proper.

In the meantime, the duke of York had been induced to surrender his claim to the three reserved counties on the Delaware. The whole country on the western bank of the bay and river, from the open ocean below Cape Henlopen to the forty-third degree of north latitude, was now under the dominion of Penn. The summer of 1682 was spent in further preparation. On the 27th of October, the proprietor at the head of a large company of emigrants landed at New Castle, where the people were waiting to receive them.

William Penn, the founder of Philadelphia, was born on the 14th of October, 1644. He was the oldest son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn of the British navy. At the age of twelve he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a student until he was expelled on account of his religious opinions. Afterward he traveled on the Continent; was again a student; returned to study law at London; went to Ireland; became a soldier; heard the preaching of Loe, a famous Quaker, and was converted to that faith. His disappointed and angry father drove him out of doors, but he was not to be turned from his

course. He publicly proclaimed the doctrines of the Friends; was arrested and imprisoned for nine months in the Tower of London. Being released, he repeated the offense, and lay for half a year in a dungeon at Newgate. A second time liberated, but despairing of toleration for his people in England, he cast his gaze across the Atlantic. West Jersey was purchased; but the boundary was narrow, and the great-souled proprietor sought a grander and more beautiful domain. His petition was heard with favor and the charter of Pennsylvania granted by King Charles. Colonists came teeming; and now the Quaker king himself, without pomp or parade, without the discharge of cannon or vainglorious ceremony, was come to New Castle to found a government on the basis of fraternity and peace. It was fitting that he should call the new republic a holy experiment. As soon as the landing was effected, Penn delivered an affectionate and cheerful address to the crowd of Swedes, Dutch, and English who came to greet him. His former pledges of a liberal and just government were publicly renewed, and the people were exhorted to sobriety and honesty.

Before Penn's arrival, treaties had been made, lands purchased, and pledges of friendship given between the Friends and the Red men. Now a great conference was appointed with the native chiefs. All the sachems of the Lenni Lenapes and other neighboring tribes were invited to assemble. The council was held on the banks of the Delaware under the open sky. Penn, accompanied by

a few unarmed friends, clad in the simple garb of the Quakers, came to the appointed spot and took his station under a venerable elm, now leafless; for it was winter. The chieftains, also unarmed, sat, after the manner of their race, in a semicircle on the ground. It was not Penn's object to purchase lands, to provide for the interests of trade, or to make a formal treaty, but rather to assure the untutored children of the woods of his honest purposes and brotherly affection. Standing before them with grave demeanor and speaking by an interpreter, he said: "My Friends: We have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are all one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise, we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but openness and love." The chiefs replied: "While the rivers run and the sun shines we will live in peace with the children of William Penn."

No record was made of the treaty, for none was needed. Its terms were written, not on decaying parchment, but on the living hearts of men. No deed of violence or injustice ever marred the sacred covenant. The Indians vied with the Quakers in keeping unbroken the pledge of perpetual peace. For more than seventy years during which the province remained under the control of the Friends, not a single war-whoop was heard within the borders of Pennsylvania. The Quaker hat and coat proved to be a better defense for the wearer than coat-of-mail and musket.

During the winter Penn busied himself with drawing a map of his proposed capital. The beautiful neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware was selected and purchased of the Swedes. In February of 1683 the native chestnuts, walnuts, and ashes were blazed to indicate the lines of the streets, and Philadelphia—City of Brotherly Love—was founded. Within a month a general assembly was in session at the new capital. The work of legislation was begun and a form of government adopted which was essentially a representative democracy. The leading officers were the governor, a council consisting of a limited number of members chosen for three years, and a larger popular assembly, to be annually elected. Penn conceded everything to the people; but the power of vetoing objectionable acts of the council was left in his hands.

The growth of Philadelphia was astonishing. In the summer of 1683 there were only three or four houses. The ground-squirrels still lived in their burrows, and the wild deer ran through the town without alarm. In 1685 the city contained six hundred houses; the schoolmaster had come and the printing-press had begun its work. In another year Philadelphia had outgrown New York. Penn's work of establishing a free State in America had been well and nobly done. In August of 1684 he took an affectionate farewell of his flourishing colony, and sailed for England. Thomas Lloyd was appointed as president during the absence of the proprietor, and five com-

missioners, members of the provincial council, were chosen to assist in the government.

Nothing occurred to disturb the peace of Pennsylvania until the secession of Delaware in 1691. The three lower counties, which, ever since the arrival of Penn, had been united on terms of equality with the six counties of Pennsylvania, became dissatisfied with some acts of the general assembly and insisted on a separation. The proprietor gave a reluctant consent; Delaware withdrew from the union and received a separate deputy-governor.

William Penn was a friend and favorite of the Stuart kings. It was from Charles II. that he had received the charter of Pennsylvania. Now that the royal house was overthrown, he sympathized with the fallen monarch and looked with coldness on the new sovereigns, William and Mary. For some real or supposed adherence to the cause of the exiled James II., Penn was several times arrested and imprisoned. In 1692 his proprietary rights were taken away, and by a royal commission the government of Pennsylvania was transferred to Fletcher of New York. In the following year Delaware shared the same fate; all the provinces between Connecticut and Maryland were consolidated under Fletcher's authority. In the meantime, the suspicions against Penn's loyalty were found to be groundless, and he was restored to his rights as governor of Pennsylvania.

In December of 1699, Penn again visited his American commonwealth. The prosperity of the

province was all that could be desired; but the people were somewhat dissatisfied with the forms of government. The lower counties were again embittered against the acts of the assembly. In order to restore peace and harmony, the benevolent proprietor drew up another constitution, more liberal than the first, extending the powers of the people and omitting the objectionable features of the former charter. But Delaware had fallen into chronic discontent, and would not accept the new frame of government. In 1702 the general assemblies of the two provinces were convened apart; and in the following year Delaware and Pennsylvania were finally separated. But the rights of Penn as proprietor of the whole territory remained as before, and a common governor continued to preside over both colonies.

In the winter of 1701, William Penn bade a final adieu to his friends in America and returned to England. The English ministers had formed the design of abolishing all the proprietary governments, with a view to the establishment of royal governments instead. The presence and influence of Penn were especially required in England in order to prevent the success of the ministerial scheme. After much controversy his rights were recognized and secured against encroachment. But the end of his labors was at hand. In July of 1718 the magnanimous founder of Pennsylvania sank to his final rest. His estates, vast and valuable, but much encumbered with debt, were bequeathed to his three sons, John, Thomas, and

Richard, who thus became proprietors of Pennsylvania. By them, or their deputies, the province was governed until the American Revolution. In the year 1779 the entire claims of the Penn family to the soil and jurisdiction of the State were purchased by the legislature of Pennsylvania for a hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling.

The colonial history of the State founded by William Penn and the Quakers is one of special interest and pleasure. It is a narrative that recounts the victories of peace and the triumph of the nobler virtues over violence and wrong. It is doubtful whether the history of any other colony in the world is touched with so many traits of innocence and truth. When the nations grow mercenary and the times seem full of fraud, the early annals of Pennsylvania may well be recited as a perpetual protest against the seeming success of evil. "I will found a free colony for all mankind," were the words of William Penn. It was fitting that the bells of his capital city should one day ring out the first glad notes of American Independence.

COLONIAL HISTORY.—CONTINUED

A.D. 1630-1754

SOUTHERN COLONIES

CHAPTER I

MARYLAND

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH was the first white man to explore the Chesapeake and its tributaries. After him, in 1621, William Clayborne, a resolute and daring English surveyor, was sent out by the London Company to make a map of the country about the head-waters of the bay. By the second charter of Virginia the territory of that province had been extended on the north to the forty-first parallel of latitude. All of the present State of Maryland was included in this enlargement, which also embraced the whole of Delaware and the greater part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The ambition of Virginia was greatly excited by

the possession of this vast domain; to explore and occupy it was an enterprise of the highest importance.

Clayborne was a member of the council of Virginia, and secretary of state in that colony. In May of 1631 he received a royal commission authorizing him to discover the sources of the Chesapeake Bay, to survey the country as far as the forty-first degree of latitude, to establish a trade with the Indians, and to exercise the right of government over the companions of his voyage. This commission was confirmed by Governor Harvey of Virginia, and in the spring of the following year Clayborne began his important and arduous work. The members of the London Company were already gathering imaginary riches from the immense fur-trade of the Potomac and the Susquehanna.

The enterprise of Clayborne was attended with success. A trading-post was established on Kent Island, and another at the head of the bay, in the vicinity of Havre de Grace. The many rivers that fall into the Chesapeake were again explored and a trade opened with the natives. The limits of Virginia were about to be extended to the borders of New Netherland. But in the meantime, a train of circumstances had been prepared in England by which the destiny of several American provinces was completely changed. As in many other instances, religious persecution again contributed to lay the foundation of a new State in the wilderness. And Sir George Calvert, of York-

shire, was the man who was destined to become the founder. Born in 1580; educated at Oxford; a man of much travel and vast experience; an ardent and devoted Catholic; a friend of humanity; honored with knighthood, and afterward with an Irish peerage and the title of Lord Baltimore,—he now in middle life turned aside from the dignities of rank and affluence to devote the energies of his life to the welfare of the oppressed. For the Catholics of England as well as the dissenting Protestants, were afflicted with many and bitter persecutions.

Lord Baltimore's first American enterprise was the planting of a Catholic colony in Newfoundland. King James, who was not unfriendly to the Roman Church, had granted him a patent for the southern promontory of the island; and here, in 1623, a refuge was established for distressed Catholics. But in such a place no colony could be successful. The district was narrow, cheerless, desolate. Profitable industry was impossible. French ships hovered around the coast and captured the English fishing-boats. It became evident that the settlement must be removed, and Lord Baltimore wisely turned his attention to the sunny country of the Chesapeake.

In 1629 he made a visit to Virginia. The general assembly offered him citizenship on condition that he would take an oath of allegiance; but the oath was of such a sort as no honest Catholic could subscribe to. In vain did Sir George plead for toleration; the assembly was inexorable. It was

on the part of the Virginians a short-sighted and ruinous policy. For the London Company had already been dissolved; the king might therefore rightfully regrant that vast territory north of the Potomac which by the terms of the second charter had been given to Virginia. Lord Baltimore left the narrow-minded legislators, returned to London, himself drew up a charter for a new State on the Chesapeake, and easily induced his friend, King Charles I., to sign it. The Virginians had saved their religion and lost a province.

The territory embraced by the new patent was bounded by the ocean, by the fortieth parallel of latitude, by a line drawn due south from that parallel to the most western fountain of the Potomac, by the river itself from its source to the bay, and by a line running due east from the mouth of the river to the Atlantic. The domain included the whole of the present States of Maryland and Delaware and a large part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Here it was the purpose of the magnanimous proprietor to establish an asylum for all the afflicted of his own faith, and to plant a State on the broad basis of religious toleration and popular liberty. The provisions of the charter were the most liberal and ample which had ever received the sanction of the English government. Christianity was declared to be the religion of the State, but no preference was given to any sect or creed. The lives and property of the colonists were carefully guarded. Free trade was declared to be the law of the province, and arbi-

trary taxation was forbidden. The rights of the proprietor extended only to the free appointment of the officers of his government. The power of making and amending the laws was conceded to the freemen of the colony or their representatives.

One calamity darkened the prospect. Before the liberal patent could receive the seal of State, Sir George Calvert died. His title and estates descended to his son Cecil; and to him, on the 20th of June, 1632, the charter which had been intended for his noble father was finally issued. In honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France and wife of Charles I., the name of Maryland was conferred on the new province. Independence of Virginia was guaranteed in the constitution of the colony, and no danger was to be anticipated from the feeble forces of New Netherland. It only remained for the younger Lord Baltimore to raise a company of emigrants and carry out his father's benevolent designs. The work went forward slowly, and it was not until November of 1633 that a colony numbering three hundred persons could be collected. Meanwhile, Cecil Calvert had abandoned the idea of coming in person to America, and had appointed his brother Leonard to accompany the colonists to their destination, and to act as deputy-governor of the new province.

In March of the following year the immigrants arrived at Old Point Comfort. Where the Potomac enters the Chesapeake Bay there was a small island, upon which was a half-deserted Indian vil-

lage. Purchasing lands from the remaining natives, in exchange for axes, hoes, and cloth, they moved into the vacant huts. Here they planted the cross and gave to the settlement the name of St. Mary's.

Calvert treated the natives with great liberality. The consequence was that the settlers had peace and plenty. The Indian women taught the wives of the English how to make corn-bread, and the friendly warriors instructed the colonists in the mysteries of hunting. Game was abundant. The lands adjacent to the village were already under cultivation. The settlers had little to do but to plant their gardens and fields and wait for the coming harvest. There was neither anxiety nor want. The dream of Sir George Calvert was realized. Within six months the colony of St. Mary's had grown into greater prosperity than the settlement at Jamestown had reached in as many years. Best of all, the pledge of civil liberty and religious toleration was redeemed to the letter.

Within less than a year after the founding of St. Mary's the freemen were convened in a general assembly. In February of 1635 the work of colonial legislation was first begun. Here democracy won its first battle in securing the right of the people to initiate legislation. But the province was involved in difficulty. For Clayborne still stood his ground on Kent Island, and openly resisted Lord Baltimore's authority. His settlement on the island was almost as strong as the colony at St. Mary's; and Clayborne, unscrupulous

as to the right, and confident in his power, resolved to appeal to arms. In 1637 a bloody skirmish occurred on the banks of the river Wicomico, on the eastern shore of the bay. Several lives were lost, but the insurgents were defeated. Calvert's forces proceeded to Kent Island, overpowered the settlement, and executed one or two persons who had participated in the rebellion.

Clayborne, in the meantime, had escaped into Virginia. The assembly of Maryland demanded the fugitive; but the governor refused, and Clayborne repaired to England to lay his case before the king. The cause was heard by a committee of Parliament, and it was decided that the commission of Clayborne, which was only a license to trade in the Chesapeake, had been annulled by the dissolution of the London Company, and that the charter of Lord Baltimore was valid against all opposing claimants. Clayborne, however, was allowed to go at large. He returned to Virginia, and for more than ten years longer was a source of disturbance to the colony of Maryland.

In 1639 a regular representative government was established in Maryland. Hitherto a system of popular democracy had prevailed in the province; each freeman had been allowed a vote in determining the laws. With the growth of the colony it was deemed expedient to substitute the more convenient method of representation. When the delegates came together, a declaration of rights was adopted, and the prerogative of the

proprietor more clearly defined. All the broad and liberal principles of the colonial patent were reaffirmed. The powers of the assembly were made coextensive with those of the House of Commons in England. The rights of citizenship were declared to be identical with those of English subjects in the mother country.

Compared with some of the other colonies, Maryland had but little trouble with the Indians. In 1642 hostilities broke out and for more than two years gave the Marylanders more or less trouble. But a greater menace to the colony was the growing jealousy of the Virginians. Maryland had won in her right to plant a colony on what Virginia claimed to be her territory. Maryland was Catholic and Virginia Protestant. Maryland, too, enjoyed free-trade relations which were denied the older colony. These strained relations were largely brought about by Maryland's old enemy, William Clayborne.

The king was now at war with his subjects, and could give no aid to the proprietor of an American province. Clayborne saw his opportunity, hurried to Maryland, and raised the standard of rebellion. Early in 1645 an insurrection broke out. Companies of desperate men came together, and found in Clayborne a natural leader. The government of Leonard Calvert was overthrown, and the governor obliged to fly for his life. Escaping from the province, he found refuge and protection with Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia. Clayborne seized

the colonial records of Maryland, and destroyed them. The government was usurped, and for more than a year the colony was under the dominion of the insurgents. Meanwhile, however, Governor Calvert collected his forces, returned to the province, defeated the rebels, and in August of 1646 succeeded in restoring his authority. It marks the mild and humane spirit of the Calverts that those engaged in this unjustifiable insurrection were pardoned by a general amnesty.

The acts of the provincial legislature in 1649 were of special importance. It was enacted in broad terms that no person believing in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity should, on account of his religious opinions or practices, be in any wise distressed within the borders of Maryland. It was declared a finable offense for citizens to apply to each other the opprobrious names used in religious controversy. Freedom of conscience was reiterated with a distinctness that could not be misunderstood. While Massachusetts was attempting by proscription to establish Puritanism as the faith of New England, and while the Episcopalians of Jamestown were endeavoring by exclusive legislation to make the Church of England the Church of Virginia, Maryland was joining with Rhode Island and Connecticut in proclaiming religious freedom. It sometimes happened in those days that Protestants escaping from Protestants found an asylum with the Catholic colonists of the Chesapeake.

The year 1650 witnessed another step in ad-

vance of the democracy in the colony. The legislature was made to be bicameral, the lower house being elected by the people. It was also enacted that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the assembly. But fresh trouble was in store for the colonists.

On the fall of Charles I., the Cromwell government appointed parliamentary commissioners. Clayborne was a member of the body thus appointed. When the commissioners arrived in Maryland, Stone, the deputy of Lord Baltimore, was deposed from office. A compromise was presently effected between the adherents of the proprietor and the opposing faction; and in June of the following year, Stone, with three members of his council, was permitted to resume the government. In April of 1653 the Long Parliament, by whose authority the commissioners had been appointed, was dissolved. Stone thereupon published a proclamation declaring that the recent interference of Clayborne and his associates had been a rebellious usurpation. Clayborne, enraged at this proclamation, collected a force in Virginia, returned into Maryland, again drove Stone out of office, and intrusted the government to ten commissioners appointed by himself.

The Puritan and republican party in Maryland had now grown sufficiently strong to defy the proprietor and the Catholics. A Protestant assembly was convened at Patuxent in October of 1654. The first act was to acknowledge the supremacy of Cromwell; the next to disfranchise the Catho-

lics and to deprive them of the protection of the laws. The ungrateful representatives seemed to forget that if Lord Baltimore had been equally intolerant, not one of them would have had even a residence within the limits of Maryland. It would be difficult to find a more odious piece of legislation than that of the assembly at Patuxent. Of course the Catholic party would not submit to a code by which they were virtually banished from their own province.

Civil war ensued. Governor Stone organized and armed the militia, seized the records of the colony, and marched against the opposing forces. A decisive battle was fought just across the estuary from the present site of Annapolis. The Catholics were defeated, with a loss of fifty men in killed and wounded. Stone himself was taken prisoner, and was only saved from death by the personal friendship of some of the insurgents. Three of the Catholic leaders were tried by a court-martial and executed. Cromwell paid but little attention to these atrocities, and made no effort to sustain the government of Lord Baltimore.

In 1656 Josias Fendall, a weak and impetuous man, was sent out by the proprietor as governor of the province. There was now a Catholic insurrection with Fendall at the head. For two years the government was divided, the Catholics exercising authority at St. Mary's, and the Protestants at Leonardstown. At length, in March of 1658, a compromise was effected; Fendall was ac-

knowledge as governor, and the acts of the recent Protestant assemblies were recognized as valid. A general amnesty was published, and the colony was again at peace.

When the death of Cromwell was announced in Maryland, the provincial authorities were much perplexed. One of four courses might be pursued: Richard Cromwell might be recognized as protector; Charles II. might be proclaimed as king; Lord Baltimore might be acknowledged as hereditary proprietor; colonial independence might be declared. The latter policy was adopted by the assembly. On the 12th of March, 1660, the rights of Lord Baltimore were formally set aside; the provincial council was dissolved, and the whole power of government was assumed by the House of Burgesses. The act of independence was adopted just one day before a similar resolution was passed by the general assembly of Virginia. The population of Maryland had now reached ten thousand.

On the restoration of monarchy the rights of the Baltimores were again recognized, and Philip Calvert was sent out as deputy-governor. In the meantime, Fendall had resigned his trust as agent of the proprietor, and had accepted an election by the people. He was now repaid for his double-dealing with an arrest, a trial, and a condemnation on a charge of treason. Nothing saved his life but the clemency of Lord Baltimore, who, with his customary magnanimity, proclaimed a general pardon.

Sir Cecil Calvert died in 1676, and his son Charles, a young man who had inherited the virtues of the illustrious family, succeeded to the estates and title of Baltimore. For sixteen years he exercised the rights of proprietary governor of Maryland. Only once during this period was the happiness of the colony disturbed. When the news arrived of the abdication of King James II., the deputy of Lord Baltimore hesitated to acknowledge the new sovereigns, William and Mary. An absurd rumor was spread abroad that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians for the purpose of destroying the Protestants of Maryland in a general massacre. An opposing force was organized; and in 1689 the Catholic party was compelled to surrender the government. For two years the Protestants held the province, and civil authority was exercised by a body called the Convention of Associates.

On the 1st day of June, 1691, the government of Maryland was revolutionized by the act of King William. The charter of Lord Baltimore was arbitrarily taken away, and a royal governor appointed over the province. Every vestige of the old patent was swept away. The Episcopal Church was established by law and supported by taxation. Religious toleration was abolished and the government administered on despotic principles. This condition of affairs continued until 1715, when Queen Anne was induced to restore the heir of Lord Baltimore to the rights of his ancestor. Maryland again became a proprietary

government under the authority of the Calverts, and so remained until the Revolutionary war.

CHAPTER II

NORTH CAROLINA

THE first effort to colonize North Carolina was made by Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1629 an immense tract lying between the thirtieth and the thirty-sixth parallels of latitude was granted by King Charles to Sir Robert Heath. But neither the proprietor nor his successor succeeded in planting a colony. After a useless existence of thirty-three years, the patent was revoked by the English sovereign. The only effect of Sir Robert's charter was to perpetuate the name of Carolina, which had been given to the country by John Ribault in 1562.

The first actual settlement was made by Virginians near the mouth of the Chowan about the year 1651. In 1661 a company of Puritans from New England passed down the coast, entered the mouth of Cape Fear River, purchased lands of the Indians, and established a colony on Oldtown Creek, nearly two hundred miles farther south than any other English settlement. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, General Monk, who was now honored with the title of duke of Albemarle, and seven other noblemen, received at the hands of Charles II. a

patent for all the country between the thirty-sixth parallel and the river St. John's, in Florida.

In the same year a civil government was organized by the settlers on the Chowan. William Drummond was chosen governor, and the name of Albemarle County Colony was given to the district bordering on the sound. In 1665 it was found that the settlement was north of the thirty-sixth parallel, and consequently beyond the limits of the province. To remedy this defect the grant was extended on the north to thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, the present boundary of Virginia, and westward to the Pacific. During the same year the little Puritan colony on Cape Fear River was broken up by the Indians; but scarcely had this been done when the site of the settlement, with thirty-two miles square of the surrounding territory, was purchased by a company of planters from Barbadoes. A new county named Clarendon was laid out, and Sir John Yeamans elected governor of the colony. The proprietors favored the settlement; immigration was rapid; and within a year eight hundred people had settled along the river.

The work of preparing a frame of government for the new province was assigned to Sir Ashley Cooper, afterward earl of Shaftesbury. This brilliant and versatile statesman stands without a peer in the realms of theoretical politics. His visionary plans were put in a form known as *The Fundamental Constitutions*, or "*The Grand Model*," which is supposed to have been written

by John Locke, the philosopher. This mighty instrument contained one hundred and twenty articles.

This was but the beginning of the imperial scheme which was to stand like a colossus over the huts and pastures along the Cape Fear and Chowan Rivers. The empire of Carolina was divided into vast districts of four hundred and eighty thousand acres each. Political rights were made dependent upon hereditary wealth. The offices were put beyond the reach of the people. There were two grand orders of nobility. There were dukes, earls, and marquises; knights, lords, and esquires; baronial courts, heraldic ceremony, and every sort of feudal nonsense that the human imagination could conceive of. And *this* was the magnificent constitution which a great statesman had planned for the government of a few colonists who lived on venison and potatoes and paid their debts with tobacco!

But all attempts to establish the pompous scheme of government ended in necessary failure. The settlers of Albemarle and Clarendon had meanwhile learned to govern themselves after the simple manner of pioneers, and they could but regard the model and its authors with disdainful contempt. After twenty years of fruitless effort, Shaftesbury and his associates folded up their grand constitution and concluded that an empire in the pine forests of North Carolina was impossible.

The soil of Clarendon county was little better

than a desert. For a while a trade in staves and furs supplied a profitable industry; but when this traffic was exhausted, the colonists began to remove to other settlements. In 1671, Governor Yeamans was transferred to the colony which had been founded in the previous year at the mouth of Ashley River, and before the year 1690 the whole county of Clarendon was a second time surrendered to the native tribes. The settlement north of Albemarle Sound was more prosperous, but civil dissension greatly retarded the development of the country.

The humble commerce of the colony was burdened with an odious duty. Every pound of the eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco annually produced was taxed a penny for the benefit of the government. There were at this time less than four thousand people in North Carolina, and yet the traffic of these poor settlers with New England alone was so weighed down with duties as to yield an annual revenue of twelve thousand dollars. The governor was a harsh and violent man. A gloomy opposition to the proprietary government pervaded the colony; and when, in 1676, large numbers of refugees from Virginia—patriots who had fought in Bacon's rebellion—arrived in the Chowan, the spirit of discontent was kindled into open resistance.

The arrival of a merchant-ship from Boston and an attempt to enforce the revenue laws furnished the occasion and pretext of an insurrection. The vessel evaded the payment of duty, and was de-

clared a smuggler. But the people flew to arms, seized the governor and six members of his council, overturned the existing order of things, and established a new government of their own. John Culpepper, the leader of the insurgents, was chosen governor; other officers were elected by the people; and for two years the government was administered without the consent of the proprietors.

In 1680 the proprietors sent one Seth Sothel, an infamous rascal, as governor. In crossing the ocean he was captured by a band of pirates, and for three years the colony was saved from his evil presence. At last, in 1683, he arrived in Carolina and began his work, which consisted in oppressing the people and defrauding the proprietors. Cranfield, of New Hampshire; Cornbury, of New York, and Wingfield, of Virginia, were all respectable men in comparison with Sothel, whose sordid passions have made him notorious as the worst colonial governor that ever plundered an American province. After five years of avaricious tyranny, the base, gold-gathering, justice-despising despot was overthrown in an insurrection. Finding himself a prisoner, and fearing the wrath of the defrauded proprietors more than he feared the indignation of the outraged colonists, he begged to be tried by the assembly of the province. The request was granted, and the culprit escaped with a sentence of disfranchisement and a twelve months' exile from North Carolina.

Then followed a period of peace and prosperity.

The new governors sent out from time to time were better and more competent men than formerly. The colony began to grow strong in population and resources. The country south of the Roanoke began to be dotted with farms and hamlets. Other settlers came from Virginia and Maryland. Quakers came from New England and the Delaware. A band of French Huguenots came in 1707. A hundred families of German refugees, buffeted with war and persecution, left the banks of the Rhine to find a home on the banks of the Neuse. Peasants from Switzerland came and founded New Berne at the mouth of the River Trent.

In September, 1711, Lawson, the surveyor-general of North Carolina, ascended the Neuse to explore and map the country. The Indians, of whom the Tuscaroras were the leading tribe, were alarmed at the threatened encroachment upon their territory. A band of warriors took Lawson prisoner, led him before their council, condemned him, and burned him to death. On the night of the 22d, companies of savages rose out of the woods, fell upon the scattered settlements, and murdered a hundred and thirty persons. Civil dissension prevented the colonial authorities from adopting vigorous measures of defense. The protection of the people and the punishment of the barbarians were left to the neighboring provinces. Spotswood, governor of Virginia, made some unsuccessful efforts to render assistance, and Colonel Barnwell came from South Carolina with a company

of militia and a body of friendly Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbas.

In September of the next year, while the conflict was yet undecided, the yellow fever broke out in the country south of Pamlico Sound. So dreadful were the ravages of the pestilence that the peninsula was well-nigh swept of its inhabitants. Meanwhile, Colonel James Moore, of South Carolina, had arrived, in command of a regiment of whites and Indians, and the Tuscaroras were pursued to their principal fort on Cotentnea Creek, in Greene county. This place was besieged until the latter part of March, 1713, and was then carried by assault. Eight hundred warriors were taken prisoners. The power of the hostile nation was broken, but the Tuscarora chiefs were divided in council; some were desirous of peace, and some voted to continue the war. This difference of opinion led to a division of the tribe. Those who wished for peace were permitted to settle in a single community in the county of Hyde. Their hostile brethren, seeing that further resistance would be hopeless, determined to leave the country. In the month of June they abandoned their hunting-grounds made sacred by the traditions of their fathers, marched northward and joined their kinsmen in New York, and became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Thus far the two Carolinas had continued under a common government. In 1729 a final separation was effected between the provinces north and south of Cape Fear River, and a royal gov-

ernor appointed over each. In spite of the Grand Model and the Tuscarora war, in spite of the threatened Spanish invasion of 1744, the northern colony had greatly prospered. The intellectual development of the people had not been as rapid as the growth in numbers and in wealth. Little attention had been given to questions of religion. There was no minister in the province until 1703. Two years later the first church was built. The first courthouse was erected in 1722, and the printing-press did not begin its work until 1754. But the people were brave and patriotic. They loved their country, and called it the Land of Summer. In the farmhouse and the village, along the banks of the rivers and the borders of the primeval forests, the spirit of liberty pervaded every breast. The love of freedom was intense, and hostility to tyranny a universal passion. In the times of Sothel it was said of the North Carolinians that they would not pay tribute *even to Caesar*.

CHAPTER III

SOUTH CAROLINA

IN January of 1670 the proprietors of Carolina sent out a colony under command of Joseph West and William Sayle. There was at this time not a single European settlement between the mouth of Cape Fear River and the St. John's, in Florida.

Here was a beautiful coast of nearly four hundred miles ready to receive the beginnings of civilization. The new emigrants steered far to the south, and reached the mainland in the country of the Savannah. The vessels first entered the harbor of Port Royal. It was now a hundred and eight years since John Ribault, on an island in this same harbor, had set up a stone engraved with the lilies of France; now the Englishman had come.

But the colonists were dissatisfied with the appearance of the country, and did not go ashore. Sailing northward along the coast for forty miles, they next entered the mouth of Ashley River, and landed where the first high land appeared upon the southern bank. Here were laid the foundations of Old Charleston, so named in honor of King Charles II. Of this, the oldest town in South Carolina, no trace remains except the line of a ditch which was digged around the fort.

Sayle had been commissioned as governor and West as commercial agent of the colony. The settlers had been furnished with a copy of the Fundamental Constitutions. But instead of accepting the Grand Model they proceeded to organize a government more democratic. Five councilors were elected by the people, and five others appointed by the proprietors. Over this council of ten the governor presided. Twenty delegates, composing a house of representatives, were chosen by the colonists. Within two years the system of popular government was firmly established in the province. Except the prevalence

of diseases peculiar to the southern climate, no calamity darkened the prospects of the rising State.

In the beginning of 1671, Governor Sayle died and was succeeded by Sir John Yeamans, who had been governor of the northern province. The English laborers, unused as yet to the climate, could hardly endure the excessive heats of the sultry fields. To the Caribbee negroes, already accustomed to the burning sun of the tropics, the Carolina summer seemed temperate and pleasant. Thus the labor of the black man was substituted for the labor of the white man, and in less than two years from the founding of the colony the system of slavery was firmly established. In this respect the history of South Carolina is peculiar. Slavery had been introduced into all the American colonies, but everywhere else the introduction had been effected by those who were engaged in the slave-trade. In South Carolina alone was the system adopted as a political and social experiment and with a view to the regular establishment of a laboring class in the State. The importation of negroes went on so rapidly that in a short time they outnumbered the whites as two to one.

Immigration from England did not lag. During the year 1671 a system of cheap rents and liberal bounties was adopted by the proprietors, and the country was rapidly filled with people. A tract of a hundred and fifty acres was granted to everyone who would either immigrate or import a negro. Fertile lands were abundant. Wars and

pestilence had almost annihilated the native tribes; whole counties were almost without an occupant. The disasters of one race had prepared the way for the coming of another. Only a few years before this time New Netherland had been conquered by the English. The Dutch were greatly dissatisfied with the government which the duke of York had established over them, and began to leave the country. The proprietors of Carolina sent several ships to New York, loaded them with the industrious but discontented people, and brought them without expense to Charleston. The unoccupied lands west of Ashley River were divided among the Dutch, who formed there a thriving settlement called Jamestown. The fame of the new country reached Holland, and other emigrants left fatherland to join their kinsmen in Carolina. Charles II., who rarely aided a colony, collected a company of Protestant refugees from the South of Europe, and sent them to Carolina to introduce the silkworm and to begin the cultivation of the grape.

In 1680 the present capital of South Carolina was founded. The site of Old Charleston had been hastily and injudiciously selected. The delightful peninsula called Oyster Point, between Ashley and Cooper Rivers, was now chosen as the spot on which to build a city. The erection of thirty dwellings during the first summer gave proof of enterprise; the name of Charleston was a second time bestowed, and the village immediately became the capital of the colony. The unhealthy

climate for a while retarded the progress of the new town, but the people were full of life and enterprise; storehouses and wharves were built, and merchant-ships soon began to throng the commodious harbor.

South Carolina was favored with rapid immigration, and the immigrants were worthy to become the founders of a great State. The best nations of Europe contributed to people the country between Cape Fear and the Savannah. England continued to send her colonies. In 1683 Joseph Blake, a brother of the great English admiral, devoted his fortune and the last years of his life to bringing a large company of dissenters from Somersetshire to Charleston. In the same year an Irish colony under Ferguson arrived at Ashley River, and met a hearty welcome. A company of Scotch Presbyterians, ten families in all, led by the excellent Lord Cardross, settled at Port Royal in 1684.

As early as 1598 Henry IV., king of the French, had published a celebrated proclamation, called the Edict of Nantes, by the terms of which the Huguenots were protected in their rights of religious worship. Now, after eighty-seven years of toleration, Louis XIV., blinded with bigotry and passion, revoked the kindly edict, and exposed the Protestants of his kingdom to the long-suppressed rage of their enemies. In order to enforce the decree of revocation the French army was quartered in the towns of the Huguenots, the ports were closed against emigration, and the bor-

ders were watched to prevent escape. In spite of every precaution, five hundred thousand of the best people of France, preferring banishment to religious thralldom, escaped from their country and fled, self-exiled, into foreign lands. The Huguenots were scattered on the Western continent from Maine to Florida. But of all the American colonies, South Carolina received the greatest number of French refugees within her borders. They were met by the proprietors with a pledge of protection and a promise of citizenship; but neither promise nor pledge was immediately fulfilled, for the colony had not yet determined what should be its laws of naturalization. Both the general assembly and the proprietors claimed the right of fixing the conditions. Until that question could be decided the Huguenots were kept in suspense, and were sometimes unkindly treated by the jealous English settlers. Not until 1697 were all discriminations against the French immigrants removed.

In 1686 came James Colleton as colonial governor. He began his administration with an attempt to establish the Grand Model. The assembly resisted his authority, and the people were embittered against him. The rents came due; payment was refused, and the colony was in a state of rebellion. In order to divert attention from himself, Colleton published a proclamation setting forth the danger of a pretended invasion by the Indians and Spaniards. The militia was called out and the province declared under martial law.

It was all in vain. The people were only exasperated by the arbitrary proceedings of the governor. Tidings came that James II. had been driven from the throne of England.

The people of North Carolina had just performed a similar service for Seth Sothel. Not satisfied with his previous success, he at once repaired to Charleston and assumed the government of the southern colony. To Sothel's other merits were added the qualifications of a first-rate demagogue; he induced the people to acquiesce in his usurpation and to sustain his authority. But his avaricious disposition could not long be held in check. The proprietors disclaimed his acts and after a turbulent rule of two years, he and his government were overthrown. One bright page redeems the record of his administration. In May of 1691 the first general act of enfranchisement was passed in favor of the Huguenots.

At last the proprietors came to see that the establishment of such a monstrous frame of government over an American colony was impossible. In April of 1693 the proprietors assembled and voted the boasted model out of existence. It was enacted at the same meeting that since the people of Carolina preferred a simple charter government, their request be granted. The magnificent paper empire of Shaftesbury was swept into oblivion.

John Archdale, a distinguished and talented Quaker, arriving in 1695, began an administration so just and wise that dissension ceased and the

colony entered upon a new career of prosperity. The quit-rents on lands were remitted for four years. The people were given the option of paying their taxes in money or in produce. The Indians were conciliated with kindness and protected against kidnappers. Some native Catholics were ransomed from slavery and sent to their homes in Florida, and the Spanish governor reciprocated the deed with a friendly message. When the old jealousy against the Huguenots asserted itself in the general assembly, the benevolent influence of Archdale procured the passage of a law by which all Christians, except the Catholics, were fully enfranchised; the ungenerous exception was made against the governor's will. It was a real misfortune to the colony when, in 1698, the good governor was recalled to England.

Queen Anne's War had broken out. The Spaniards were in alliance with the French against the English. By the antagonism of England and Spain, South Carolina and Florida were brought into conflict. Yet a declaration of war was strongly opposed in the assembly at Charleston, and was only passed by a small majority. It was voted to raise and equip a force of twelve hundred men, and to invade Florida by land and water.

Upon the arrival of the English in front of St. Augustine, the Spaniards withdrew into the castle and bade defiance to the besiegers. The arrival of two Spanish men-of-war caused the English to make a hasty retreat. The only results of the

unfortunate expedition were debt and paper money. In order to meet the heavy expenses of the war, the assembly was obliged to issue bills of credit to the amount of six thousand pounds sterling.

More successful was the invasion of Governor Moore into the Indian and Spanish country southwest of the Savannah. In December, 1705, with fifty volunteers, he attacked the fortified town of Ayavalla, near St. Mark's. The church was set on fire, and in the assault that followed two hundred prisoners were taken and enslaved. Five other towns were carried in succession and the English flag waved in triumph to the Gulf of Mexico.

Meanwhile, the Church of England had been established by law in South Carolina. In the first year of Johnston's administration the High Church party succeeded in getting a majority of one in the colonial assembly, and immediately passed an act disfranchising all the dissenters in the province. An appeal was carried to the proprietors, only to be rejected with contempt. The dissenting party next laid their cause before Parliament, and that body promptly voted that the act of disfranchisement was contrary to the laws of England, and that the proprietors had forfeited their charter. The queen's ministers were authorized to declare the intolerant law null and void. In November of the same year the colonial legislature revoked its own act so far as the disfranchising clause was concerned; but Episcopalianism

continued to be the established faith of the province.

The year 1706 was a stirring epoch in the history of South Carolina. A French and Spanish fleet was sent from Havana to capture Charleston and subdue the country. The brave people of the capital flew to arms. Governor Johnston and Colonel William Rhett inspired the volunteers with courage; and when the hostile squadron anchored in the harbor, the city was ready for a stubborn defense. Several times a landing was attempted, but the invaders were everywhere repulsed. At last a French vessel succeeded in getting to shore with eight hundred troops, but they were attacked with fury and driven off with a loss of three hundred in killed and prisoners. The siege was at once abandoned; unaided by the proprietors, South Carolina had made a glorious defense.

In the spring of 1715 war broke out with the Yamassees. As usual with their race, the Indians began hostilities with treachery. The wily savages rose upon the frontier settlements and committed an atrocious massacre. Nearly one hundred unsuspecting farmers were killed in one day. The people of Port Royal were alarmed just in time to escape in a ship to Charleston. The desperate savages rushed on to within a short distance of the capital. It seemed that the city would be taken and the whole colony driven to destruction. But the brave Charles Craven, governor of the province, rallied the militia and began a vigorous

pursuit of the savages. A decisive battle was fought and the Indians were completely routed. The Yamassees collected their shattered tribe and retired into Florida, where they were received by the Spaniards as friends and confederates.

At the close of the war with the Yamassees the assembly petitioned the proprietors to bear a portion of the expense. But the avaricious noblemen refused, and would take no measures for the future protection of the colony. The people were greatly burdened with rents and taxes. The lands were monopolized; every act of the assembly which seemed for the public good was vetoed by the proprietors. In the new election every delegate was chosen by the popular party. The 21st of December, 1719, was training-day in Charleston. On that day James Moore, the new chief magistrate elected by the people, was to be inaugurated. Governor Johnston forbade the military display and tried to prevent the inauguration; but the militia collected in the public square, drums were beaten, flags were flung out on the forts and shipping, and before nightfall the proprietary government of Carolina was overthrown. Governor Moore was duly inaugurated in the name of King George I. A colonial agent was at once sent to England; the cause of the colonists was heard, and the forfeited charter of the proprietors abrogated by act of Parliament.

Francis Nicholson was now commissioned as governor. He had already held the office of chief magistrate in New York, in Virginia, in Mary-

land, and in Nova Scotia. He began a successful administration in South Carolina by concluding treaties of peace and commerce with the Cherokees and the Creeks. But another and final change in colonial affairs was now at hand. In 1729 seven of the eight proprietors of the Carolinas sold their entire claims in the provinces to the king. Lord Carteret, the eighth proprietor, would surrender nothing but his right of jurisdiction, reserving his share in the soil. The sum paid by King George for the two colonies was twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Royal governors were appointed, and the affairs of the province were settled on a permanent basis, not to be disturbed for more than forty years.

The people who colonized South Carolina were brave and chivalrous. On the banks of the Santee, the Edisto, and the Combahee were gathered some of the best elements of the European nations. The Huguenot, the Scotch Presbyterian, the English dissenter, the loyalist and High Churchman, the Irish adventurer, and the Dutch mechanic, composed the powerful material out of which soon grew the beauty and renown of the Palmetto State. Equally with the rugged Puritans of the North, the South Carolinians were lovers of liberty. Without the severe morality and formal manners of the Pilgrims, the people who were once governed by the peaceful Archdale and once led to war by the gallant Craven became the leaders in courtly politeness and high-toned honor between man and man. In the coming struggle for free-

dom South Carolina will bear a noble and distinguished part.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGIA

GEORGIA, the thirteenth American colony, was founded in a spirit of pure benevolence. The laws of England permitted imprisonment for debt. Thousands of English laborers, who through misfortune and thoughtless contracts had become indebted to the rich, were annually arrested and thrown into jail. There were desolate and starving families. The miserable condition of the debtor class at last attracted the attention of Parliament. In 1728 a commissioner was appointed, *at his own request*, to look into the state of the poor, to visit the prisons of the kingdom, and to report measures of relief. The work was accomplished, the jails were opened, and the poor victims of debt returned to their homes.

To provide a refuge for the downtrodden poor of England and the distressed Protestants of other countries, the commissioner now appealed to George II. for the privilege of planting a colony in America. The petition was favorably heard, and on the 9th of June, 1732, a royal charter was issued by which the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, and westward from the upper fountains of those rivers to the Pacific, was

organized and granted to a corporation for twenty-one years, *to be held in trust for the poor*. In honor of the king, the new province received the name of Georgia.

The founder of Georgia was James Oglethorpe, the philanthropist. Born a loyalist, educated at Oxford, a High Churchman, a cavalier, a soldier, a member of Parliament, benevolent, generous, full of sympathy, farsighted, brave as John Smith, chivalrous as De Soto, Oglethorpe gave in middle life the full energies of a vigorous body and a lofty mind to the work of building in the sunny South an asylum for the oppressed of his own and other lands. The magnanimity of the enterprise was heightened by the fact that he did not believe in the equality of men, but only in the right and duty of the strong to protect the weak and sympathize with the lowly. To Oglethorpe, as principal member of the corporation, the leadership of the first colony to be planted on the banks of the Savannah was naturally intrusted.

By the middle of November a hundred and twenty emigrants were ready to sail for the New World. Oglethorpe, like the elder Winthrop, determined to share the dangers and hardships of his colony. In the early spring of 1733, the company reached the mouth of the Savannah River. Here on a bluff overlooking that stream they laid the foundations of a city to which was given the name of the river. Broad streets were laid out; a public square was reserved in each quarter; a beautiful village of tents and board houses, built among

the pine trees, appeared as the capital of a new commonwealth where men were not imprisoned for debt.

Tomo-chichi, chief of the Yamacraws, came from his cabin, half a mile distant, to see his brother Oglethorpe. There was a pleasant conference. "Here is a present for you," said the Red man to the white man. The present was a buffalo robe painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers are soft, and signify love; the buffalo-skin is the emblem of protection. Therefore love us and protect us," said the old chieftain. Such a plea could not be lost on a man like Oglethorpe. Seeing the advantages of peace, he sent an invitation to the chiefs of the Muskhogees to meet him in a general council at his capital. The conference was held on the 29th of May. Long King, the sachem of Oconas, spoke for all the tribes of his nation. The English were welcomed to the country. Bundles of buckskins, and such other good gifts as savage civilization could offer, were laid down plentifully at the feet of the whites. The governor and his poor but generous colony responded with valuable presents and words of faithful friendship. The fame of Oglethorpe spread far and wide among the Red men. From the distant mountains of Tennessee came the noted chief of the Cherokees to confer with the humane and sweet-tempered governor of Georgia.

The councilors in England who managed the affairs of the new State encouraged emigration

with every liberal offer. Swiss peasants left their mountains to find a home on the Savannah. The plaid cloak of the Scotch Highlander was seen among the wigwams of the Muskhogeas. From distant Salzburg, afar on the borders of Austria, came a noble colony of German Protestants, singing their way down the Rhine and across the ocean. Oglethorpe met them at Charleston, bade them welcome, led them to Savannah, and thence through the woods to a point twenty miles up the river, told them of English rights and the freedom of conscience, and left them to found the village of Ebenezer.

In April of 1734, Governor Oglethorpe made a visit to England. His friend Tomo-chichi went with him, and made the acquaintance of King George. It was said in London that no colony was ever before founded so wisely and well as Georgia. The councilors prohibited the importation of rum. Traffic with the Indians—always a dangerous matter—was either interdicted or regulated by special license. When it came to the question of labor, slavery was positively forbidden. It was said that the introduction of slaves would be fatal to the interests of the English and German laborers for whom the colony had been founded. While the governor was still abroad, the first company of Moravians, numbering nine, and led by the evangelist Spangenberg, arrived at Savannah.

In February of 1736, Oglethorpe himself came back with a new colony of three hundred. Part

of these were Moravians, and nearly all were people of deep piety and fervent spirit. First among them—first in zeal and first in the influence which he was destined to exert in after times—was the celebrated John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Overflowing with religious enthusiasm, he came to Georgia as an apostle. To lead the people to righteousness, to spread the gospel, to convert the Indians, and to introduce a new type of religion characterized by few forms and much emotion, these were the purposes that thronged his lofty fancy. He was doomed to much disappointment. The mixed people of the new province could not be molded to his will; and after a residence of less than two years he left the colony with a troubled spirit. His brother, Charles Wesley, came also as a secretary to Governor Oglethorpe; but Charles was a poet, a timid and tender-hearted man who pined with homesickness and gave way under discouragement. But when, in 1738, the famous George Whitefield came, his robust and daring nature proved a match for all the troubles of the wilderness. He preached with fiery eloquence. To build an orphan-house at Savannah he went through all the colonies; and those who heard his voice could hardly refuse him money.

Meanwhile, Oglethorpe was busy with the affairs of his growing province. Anticipating war with Spain, he began to fortify. For the Spaniards were in possession of Florida, and claimed the country as far north as St. Helena Sound. All

of Georgia was thus embraced in the Spanish claim. But Oglethorpe had a charter for Georgia as far south as the Altamaha, and he had secured by treaty with the Indians all the territory between that river and the St. Mary's. In 1736 was begun the erection of the forts. The most southerly was St. George on the river St. John's, which stream was claimed as the southern boundary of Georgia. To make his preparations complete, the governor again visited England, and was commissioned as brigadier-general, with a command extending over his own province and South Carolina. In October of 1737 he returned to Savannah, bringing with him a regiment of six hundred men. Such were the vigorous measures adopted by Oglethorpe in anticipation of a Spanish war.

The war came. It was that conflict known in American history as King George's War. England published her declaration of hostility against Spain in the latter part of October, 1739. In the first week of the following January the impetuous Oglethorpe, at the head of the Georgia militia, made a dash into Florida, and captured two fortified towns of the Spaniards. With a force of a thousand men, besides Indians, he proceeded against St. Augustine. The place was strongly fortified, and the Spanish commandant was a man of ability and courage. The siege continued for five weeks, but ended in disaster to the English. For a while the town was successfully blockaded. But the Spaniards made a sally, attacked a company of Highlanders, and dispersed them. Sick-

ness prevailed in the English camp. The general himself was enfeebled with fever and excitement, but he held on like a hero. Some of the troops, disheartened and despairing of success, left their camp and marched homeward. The English vessels gathered up their crews and abandoned the siege. Oglethorpe, yielding only to necessity, collected his men from the trenches and withdrew into Georgia.

The Spaniards now determined to carry the war northward and drive the English beyond the Savannah. Preparations began on a vast scale. A powerful fleet of thirty-six vessels, carrying more than three thousand troops, was brought from Cuba. In June of 1742 the squadron passed up the coast and attempted the reduction of Fort William at the mouth of the St. Mary's. But Oglethorpe by a daring exploit re-enforced the garrison, and then fell back to Frederica. The Spanish vessels followed and came to anchor in the harbor of St. Simon's. From the southern point of the island to Frederica, Oglethorpe had cut a road which at one place lay between a morass and a dense forest. Along this path the Spaniards must pass to attack the town. The English general had only eight hundred men and a few Indian allies. In order to cope with superior numbers, Oglethorpe resorted to stratagem.

A Frenchman had deserted to the Spaniards. To him the English general now wrote a letter *as if to a spy*. A Spanish prisoner in Oglethorpe's hands was liberated and bribed to deliver the let-

ter to the deserter. The Frenchman was advised that two British fleets were coming to America, one to aid Oglethorpe and the other to attack St. Augustine. Let the Spaniards remain on the island but three days longer, and they would be ruined. If the enemy did not make an immediate attack on Frederica, his forces would be captured to a man. Oglethorpe knew very well that the prisoner, instead of delivering this letter to the deserter, would give it to the Spanish commander, and that the Spanish commander could not possibly know whether the communication was the truth or a fiction. This letter was delivered, and the astonished Frenchman was arrested as a spy, but the Spaniards could not tell whether his denial was true or false. There was a council of war in the Spanish camp. Oglethorpe's stratagem was suspected, but could not be proved. Three ships had been seen at sea that day; perhaps these were the first vessels of the approaching British fleets. The Spaniards were utterly perplexed; but it was finally decided to take Oglethorpe's advice, and make the attack on Frederica.

The English general had foreseen that this course would be adopted. He had accordingly advanced his small force from the town to the place where the road passed between the swamp and the forest. Here an ambuscade was formed, and the soldiers lay in wait for the approaching Spaniards. On the 7th of July the enemy's vanguard reached the narrow pass, were fired on from the thicket, and driven back in confusion. The

main body of the Spanish forces pressed on into the dangerous position where superior numbers were of no advantage. The Highlanders of Oglethorpe's regiment fired with terrible effect from the oak woods by the roadside. The Spaniards stood firm for a while, but were presently driven back with a loss of two hundred men. Not without reason the name of Bloody Marsh was given to this battlefield. Within less than a week the whole Spanish force had re-embarked and sailed for Florida. The English watched the retreating ships beyond the mouth of the St. John's; before the last of July the great invasion was at an end. The Spanish authorities of Cuba were greatly chagrined at the failure of the expedition. The commander of the squadron was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

The commonwealth of Georgia was now firmly established, and the settlements had peace. In 1743, Oglethorpe bade a final adieu to the colony to whose welfare he had given more than ten years of his life. He had never owned a house nor possessed an acre of ground within the limits of his own province. He now departed for England crowned with blessings, and leaving behind him an untarnished fame. James Oglethorpe lived to be nearly a hundred years old; benevolence, integrity, and honor were the virtues of his declining years. But the new State which he had founded in the West was not always free from evils.

For the regulations which the councilors for Georgia had adopted were but poorly suited to the wants of the colony. The settlers had not been permitted to hold their lands in fee simple. Agriculture had not flourished. Commerce had not sprung up. The laws of property had been so arranged that estates could descend only to the oldest sons of families. The colonists were poor, and charged their poverty to the fact that slave-labor was forbidden in the province. This became the chief question which agitated the people. The proprietary laws grew more and more unpopular. The statute excluding slavery was not rigidly enforced, and, indeed, could not be enforced, when the people had determined to evade it. Whitefield himself pleaded for the abrogation of the law. Slaves began to be hired, first for short terms of service, then for longer periods, then for a hundred years, which was equivalent to an actual purchase for life. Finally, cargoes of slaves were brought directly from Africa, and the primitive free-labor system of Georgia was revolutionized. Plantations were laid out below the Savannah, and cultivated, as those of South Carolina.

At last the new order of things was acknowledged by the councilors of the province. In June of 1752, just twenty years from the granting of the charter, the trustees made a formal surrender of their patent to the king. A royal government was established over the country south of the Savannah, and the people were granted the privi-

leges and freedom of Englishmen. For some time the progress of the colony was not equal to the expectations of its founder, but long before the Revolution, Georgia had become a prosperous and growing State.

The history of the American colonies from their first feeble beginnings is full of interest and instruction. The people who laid the foundation of civilization in the New World were nearly all refugees, exiles, wanderers, pilgrims. They were urged across the ocean by a common impulse, and that impulse was the desire to escape from *some* form of oppression in the Old World. Sometimes it was the oppression of the Church, sometimes of the State, sometimes of society. In the wake of the emigrant ship there was always tyranny. Men loved freedom; to find it they braved the perils of the deep, traversed the solitary forests of Maine, built huts on the bleak shores of New England, entered the Hudson, explored the Jerseys, found shelter on the Chesapeake, met starvation and death on the banks of the James, were buffeted by storms around the capes of Carolina, built towns by the estuaries of the great rivers, made roads through the pine woods, and carried the dwellings of men to the very margin of the fever-haunted swamps of the South. It is all one story—the story of the human race seeking for liberty.

COLONIAL HISTORY.—CONTINUED

A.D. 1754-1763

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

CHAPTER I

CAUSES

THE time came when the American colonies began to act together. From the beginning they had been kept apart by prejudice, suspicion, and mutual jealousy. But the fathers were now dead, old antagonisms had passed away, a new generation had arisen with kindlier feelings and more charitable sentiments. But it was not so much the growth of a more liberal public opinion as it was *the sense of a common danger* that at last led the colonists to make a united effort. The final struggle between France and England for colonial supremacy in America was at hand. Necessity compelled the English colonies to join in a common

cause against a common foe. This is the conflict known as the French and Indian War; with this great event the separate histories of the colonies are lost in the more general history of the nation. The contest began in 1754, but the causes of the war had existed for many years.

The first and greatest of these causes was *the conflicting territorial claims* of the two nations. England had colonized the sea-coast; France had colonized the interior of the continent. From Maine to Florida the Atlantic shore was spread with English colonies; but there were no inland settlements. The great towns were on the ocean's edge. But the claims of England reached far beyond her colonies. Based on the discoveries of the Cabots, and not limited by actual occupation, those claims extended westward to the Pacific. Far different, however, were the claims of France; the French had first colonized the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal, one of the earliest settlements, is more than five hundred miles from the sea. If the French colonies had been limited to the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, there would have been little danger of a conflict about territorial dominion. But in the latter half of the seventeenth century the French began to push their way westward and southward; first, along the shores of the great lakes, then to the headwaters of the Wabash, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, and the St. Croix, then down these streams to the Mississippi, and then to the Gulf of Mexico. The purpose of the French, as manifested in these

movements, was no less than to divide the American continent and to take the larger portion for France.

The zealous Jesuits, purposing to extend the Catholic faith to all lands and nations, set out fearlessly from the older settlements of the St. Lawrence to explore the unknown West, and to convert the barbarous races. In 1641 the first of the French missionary explorers passed through the northern straits of Lake Huron and entered Lake Superior. In the thirty years that followed, the Jesuits continued their explorations with prodigious activity. Missions were established at various points north of the lakes, and in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. In 1673, Joliet and Marquette passed from the headwaters of Fox River over the watershed to the upper tributaries of the Wisconsin, and thence down that river in a seven days' voyage to the Mississippi. For a full month the canoe of the daring adventurers carried them on toward the sea. They passed the mouth of Arkansas River, and reached the limit of their voyage at the thirty-third parallel of latitude. Turning their boat upstream, they entered the mouth of the Illinois and returned by the site of Chicago into Lake Michigan, and thence to Detroit. But it was not yet known whether the great river discharged its flood of waters into the southern gulf or into the Pacific Ocean.

It remained for Robert de la Salle, most illustrious of the French explorers, to solve the problem. This courageous and daring man was living

at the outlet of Lake Ontario when the news of Marquette's voyage reached Canada. Fired with the passion of discovery, La Salle built and launched the first ship above Niagara Falls. He sailed westward through Lake Erie and Lake Huron, crossed Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, ascended that stream with a few companions, traversed the country to the upper



La Salle at the
Mississippi

Kankakee, and dropped down with the current into the Illinois. Here disasters overtook the expedition, and La Salle was obliged to return on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of nearly a thousand miles. During his absence, Father Hennepin, a member of the company, traversed Illi-

nois, and explored the Mississippi as high as the Falls of St. Anthony.

In 1681, La Salle returned to his station on the Illinois, bringing men and supplies. A boat was built, and early in the following year the heroic adventurer, with a few companions, descended the river to its junction with the Mississippi, and was borne by the Father of Waters to the Gulf of Mexico. It was one of the greatest exploits of modern times. The return voyage was successfully accomplished. La Salle reached Quebec, and immediately set sail for France. The kingdom was

greatly excited, and vast plans were made for colonizing the valley of the Mississippi. In July of 1684 four ships, bearing two hundred and eighty emigrants, left France. Beaujeu commanded the fleet, and La Salle was leader of the colony. The plan was to enter the gulf, ascend the river, and plant settlements on its banks and tributaries. But Beaujeu was a bad and headstrong captain, and against La Salle's entreaties the squadron was carried out of its course, beyond the mouths of the Mississippi, and into the Bay of Matagorda. Here a landing was effected, but the store-ship, with all its precious freightage, was dashed to pieces in a storm. Nevertheless, a colony was established, and Texas became a part of Louisiana.

La Salle made many unsuccessful efforts to rediscover the Mississippi. One misfortune after another followed fast, but the leader's resolute spirit remained tranquil through all calamities. At last, with sixteen companions, he set out to cross the continent to Canada. The march began in January of 1687, and continued for sixty days. The wanderers were already in the basin of the Colorado. Here, on the 20th of March, while La Salle was at some distance from the camp, two conspirators of the company, hiding in the prairie grass, took a deadly aim at the famous explorer, and shot him dead in his tracks. Only seven of the adventurers succeeded in reaching a French settlement on the Mississippi.

France was not slow to occupy the vast country

revealed to her by the activity of the Jesuits. As early as 1688 military posts had been established at Frontenac, at Niagara, at the Straits of Mackinaw, and on the Illinois River. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, permanent settlements had been made by the French on the Maumee, at Detroit, at the mouth of the river St. Joseph, at Green Bay, at Vincennes on the Lower Wabash, on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Kaskaskia, at Fort Rosalie, the present site of Natchez, and on the Gulf of Mexico at the head of the Bay of Biloxi. At this time the only outposts of the English colonies were a small fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and a few scattered cabins in West Virginia. It only remained for France to occupy the valley of the Ohio, in order to confine the provinces of Great Britain to the country east of the Alleghanies. To do this became the sole ambition of the French, and to prevent it the stubborn purpose of the English.

A second cause of war existed in the long-standing *national animosity of France and England*. The two nations could hardly remain at peace. The French and the English were of different races, languages, and laws. For more than two centuries France had been the leader of the Catholic, and England of the Protestant, powers of Europe. Religious prejudice intensified the natural jealousy of the two nations. Rivalry prevailed on land and sea. When, at the close of the seventeenth century, it was seen that the people of the English colonies outnumbered those of Canada by

nearly twenty to one, France was filled with envy. When, by the enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries, the French began to dot the basin of the Mississippi with fortresses, and to monopolize the fur-trade of the Indians, England could not conceal her wrath. It was only a question of time when this unreasonable jealousy would bring on a colonial war.

The third and immediate cause of hostilities was *a conflict between the frontiersmen of the two nations* in attempting to colonize the Ohio valley. The year 1749 witnessed the beginning of difficulties. For some time the strolling traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania had frequented the Indian towns on the upper tributaries of the Ohio. Now the traders of Canada began to visit the same villages, and to compete with the English in the purchase of furs. Virginia, under her ancient charters, claimed the whole country lying between her western borders and the southern shores of Lake Erie. The French fur-gatherers in this district were regarded as intruders not to be tolerated. In order to prevent further encroachment, a number of prominent Virginians joined themselves together in a body called the Ohio Company, with a view to the immediate occupation of the disputed territory. Robert Dinwiddie, governor of the State, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, and Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, were the leading members of the corporation. In March of 1749 the company received from George II. an extensive land-grant covering a tract

of five hundred thousand acres, to be located between the Kanawha and the Monongahela Rivers. The conditions of the grant were that the land should be held free of rent for ten years, that within seven years a colony of one hundred families should be established in the district, and that the territory should be immediately selected.

But the French were equally active. Before the Ohio Company could send out a colony, the governor of Canada dispatched Bienville with three hundred men to explore and occupy the valley of the Ohio. The expedition was successful. Plates of lead bearing French inscriptions were buried here and there on both banks of the river, the region was explored as far west as the towns of the Miamis, the English traders were expelled from the country, and a letter was written to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania admonishing him to encroach no farther on the territory of the king of France. This work occupied the summer and fall of 1749. In the meantime, the Ohio Company had equipped an exploring party, and placed it under command of Christopher Gist. In November of 1750 he and his company reached the Ohio opposite the mouth of Beaver Creek. Here the expedition crossed to the northern side, tarried at Logstown, passed down the river through the several Indian confederacies to the Great Miami, and thence to within fifteen miles of the falls at Louisville. Returning on foot through Kentucky, the explorers reached Virginia in the spring of 1751.

This expedition was followed by still more vigorous movements on the part of the French. Descending from their headquarters at Presque Isle, now Erie, on the southern shore of the lake, they built a fortress called Le Bœuf, on French Creek, a tributary of the Alleghany. Proceeding down the stream to its junction with the river, they erected a second fort, named Venango. From this point they advanced against a British post on the Miami, broke up the settlement, made prisoners of the garrison, and carried them to Canada. The king of the Miami confederacy, who had assisted the English in defending their outpost, was inhumanly murdered by the Indian allies of the French. About the same time the country south of the Ohio, between the Great Kanawha and the Monongahela, was explored by Gist and a party of armed surveyors, acting under orders of the company. In the summer of 1753 the English opened a road from Will's Creek through the mountains into the Ohio valley, and a colony of eleven families was planted on the Youghiogeny. It was impossible that a conflict between the advancing settlements of the two nations could be much longer averted.

Virginia was now thoroughly aroused. But before proceeding to actual hostilities, Governor Dinwiddie determined to try the effect of a final remonstrance with the French. A paper was accordingly drawn up setting forth the nature and extent of the English claim to the valley of the Ohio, and solemnly warning the authorities of

France against further intrusion into that region. It was necessary that this paper should be carried to General St. Pierre, now stationed at Erie as commander of the French forces in the West. Who should be chosen to bear the important parchment to its far-off destination? It was the most serious mission ever yet undertaken in America. A young surveyor, named George Washington, was called to perform the perilous duty. Him the governor summoned from his home on the Potomac and commissioned as ambassador, and to him was committed the message which was to be borne from Williamsburg, on York River, through the untrodden wilderness to Presque Isle, on the shore of Lake Erie.

On the last day of October, 1753, Washington set out on his long journey. He was attended by four comrades besides an interpreter and Christopher Gist, the guide. The party arrived without accident at the mouth of Will's Creek, the last important tributary of the Potomac on the north. From this place Washington proceeded through the mountains to the headwaters of the Youghiogheny, and thence down that stream to the site of Pittsburg. The immense importance of this place, lying at the confluence of the two great tributaries of the Ohio, and commanding them both, was at once perceived by the young ambassador, who noted the spot as the site of a fortress. Washington was now conducted across the Alleghany by the chief of the Delawares, and thence twenty miles down the river to Logstown. Here

a council was held with the Indians, who pledged their friendship and fidelity to the English. In the beginning of December, Washington and his party moved northward to the French post at Venango. The officers of the fort took no pains to conceal their purpose; the project of uniting Canada and Louisiana by way of the Ohio valley was openly avowed.

From Venango, Washington set out through the forest to Fort le Bœuf on French Creek, fifty miles above its junction with the Alleghany. This was the last stage in the journey. It was still fourteen miles to Presque Isle; but St. Pierre, the French commander, had come down from that place to superintend the fortifications at Le Bœuf. Here the conference was held. Washington was received with great courtesy, but the general of the French refused to enter into any discussion on the rights of nations. He was acting, he said, under military instructions given by the governor of New France. He had been commanded by his superior officer to eject every Englishman from the valley of the Ohio, and he meant to carry out his orders to the letter. A firm but courteous reply was returned to Governor Dinwiddie's message. France claimed the country of the Ohio in virtue of discovery, exploration, and occupation, and her claim should be made good by force of arms.

Washington was kindly dismissed, but not until he had noted with keen anxiety the immense preparations which were making at Le Bœuf.

There lay a fleet of fifty birch-bark canoes and a hundred and seventy boats of pine ready to descend the river to the site of Pittsburg. For the French, as well as the English, had noted the importance of that spot, and had determined to fortify it as soon as the ice should break in the rivers. It was now the dead of winter. Washington returned to Venango, and then, with Gist as his sole companion, left the river and struck into the woods. It was one of the most solitary marches ever made by man. There in the desolate wilderness was the future President of the United States. Clad in the robe of an Indian, with gun in hand and knapsack strapped to his shoulders; struggling through interminable snows; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine-brush; breaking through the treacherous ice of rapid streams; guided by day by a pocket compass, and at night by the North Star, seen at intervals through the leafless trees; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert not fifteen steps away; thrown from a raft into the rushing Alleghany; escaping to an island and lodging there until the river was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement and then the Potomac,—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. For his flesh was not made to be torn by bullets or to be eaten by the wolves. The defiant dispatch of St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished.

In the meantime, the Ohio Company had not been idle. About midwinter a party of thirty-three men had been organized and ordered to proceed at once to the source of the Ohio and erect a fort. It was not far from the middle of March, 1754, when the party reached the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, and built the first rude stockade on the site of Pittsburg.*

As soon as the approaching spring broke the ice-gorges in the Alleghany, the French fleet of boats, already prepared at Venango, came sweeping down the river. Washington had now been commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, and was stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits for the Ohio. A regiment of a hundred and fifty men had been enrolled; but it was impossible to bring succor in time to save the post. On the 17th of April the little band of Englishmen at the head of the Ohio surrendered to the enemy and withdrew from the country. The French immediately occupied the place, felled the forest-trees, built barracks, and laid the foundations of Fort du Quesne. To recapture this place by force of arms Colonel Washington set out from Will's Creek in the early part of May, 1754. Negotiations had failed; remonstrance had been tried in vain; the possession of the disputed territory was now to be determined by the harsher methods of war.

* The accounts of this important event are very obscure and unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER II

CAMPAIGNS OF WASHINGTON AND BRADDOCK

WASHINGTON now found himself in command of a little army of Virginians. His commission was brief and easily understood: To construct a fort at the source of the Ohio; to destroy whoever opposed him in the work; to capture, kill, or repel all who interrupted the progress of the English settlements in that country. In the month of April the young commander left Will's Creek, but the march westward was slow and toilsome. The men were obliged to drag their cannons. The roads were miserable; rain fell in torrents on the tentless soldiers; rivers were bridgeless; provisions insufficient.

On the 26th of May the English regiment reached the Great Meadows. Here Washington was informed that a company of French was on the march to attack him. The enemy had been seen on the Youghiogheny only a few miles distant. A stockade was immediately erected, to which the commander gave the appropriate name of Fort Necessity. Ascertaining from the scouts that the French company in the neighborhood was only a scouting-party, Washington determined to strike the first blow. Two Indian guides followed the trail of the French, and discovered their hiding-place in a rocky ravine. The English advanced cautiously, intending to surprise and capture the

whole force; but the French were on the alert, saw the approaching soldiers and flew to arms. Washington with musket in hand was at the head of his company. "Fire!" was the clear command that rang through the forest, and the first volley of a great war went flying on its mission of death. The engagement was brief and decisive. Jumonville, the leader of the French, and ten of his party were killed, and twenty-one were made prisoners.

A month of precious time was now lost in delays. While Washington at Fort Necessity waited in vain for re-enforcements, the French at Fort du Quesne were collecting in great numbers. Washington spent the time of waiting in cutting a road for twenty miles across the rough country in the direction of Fort du Quesne. His whole effective force scarcely numbered four hundred. Learning that the French general De Villiers was approaching with a large body of troops, besides Indian auxiliaries, Washington deemed it prudent to fall back to Fort Necessity.

The little fort stood in an open space, midway between two eminences covered with trees. Scarcely were Washington's forces safe within the inclosure, when on the 3d of July the regiment of De Villiers, numbering six hundred, besides the savage allies, came in sight, and surrounded the fort. The French stationed themselves on the eminence, about sixty yards distant from the stockade. From this position they could fire down upon the English with fatal effect. Many of the In-

dians climbed into the tree-tops, where they were concealed by the thick foliage. For nine hours, during a rainstorm, the assailants poured an incessant shower of balls upon the heroic band in the fort. Thirty of Washington's men were killed, but his tranquil presence encouraged the rest, and the fire of the French was returned with unabated vigor. At length De Villiers, fearing that his ammunition would be exhausted, proposed a parley. Washington, seeing that it would be impossible to hold out much longer, accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which were offered by the French general. On the 4th of July the English garrison, retaining all its accouterments, marched out of the little fort, so bravely defended, and withdrew from the country. The whole valley of the Ohio remained in undisturbed possession of the French.

Meanwhile, a congress of the American colonies had assembled at Albany. The objects had in view were twofold: first, to renew a treaty with the Iroquois confederacy; and secondly, to stir up the colonial authorities to some sort of concerted action against the French. As to the French aggressions, something must be done speedily, or the flag of England could never be borne into the vast country west of the Alleghanies. The congress was not wanting in abilities of the highest order. No such venerable and dignified body of men had ever before assembled on the American continent. There were Hutchinson, of Massachusetts; Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Franklin, of

Pennsylvania, and others scarcely less distinguished. After a few days' consultation, the Iroquois, but half-satisfied, renewed their treaty and departed. The chieftains were anxious and uneasy lest, through inactivity and want of union on the part of the colonies, the Six Nations should be left to contend alone with the power of France.

The convention next took up the important question of uniting the colonies in a common government. On the 10th day of July, Benjamin Franklin laid before the commissioners the draft of a federal constitution. His vast and comprehensive mind had realized the true condition and wants of the country; the critical situation of the colonies demanded a central government. How else could revenues be raised, an army be organized, and the common welfare be provided for? According to the proposed plan of union, Philadelphia, a central city, was to be the capital. It was urged in behalf of this clause that the delegates of New Hampshire and Georgia, the colonies most remote, could reach the seat of government *in fifteen or twenty days!* Slow-going old patriots! The chief executive of the new confederation was to be a governor-general appointed and supported by the king. The legislative authority was vested in a congress composed of delegates to be chosen triennially by the general assemblies of the respective provinces. Each colony should be represented in proportion to its contributions to the general government, but no colony should have less than two or more than

seven representatives in congress. With the governor was lodged the power of appointing all military officers and of vetoing objectionable laws. The appointment of civil officers, the raising of troops, the levying of taxes, the superintendence of Indian affairs, the regulation of commerce, and all the general duties of government, belonged to congress. This body was to convene once a year, to choose its own officers, and to remain in session not longer than six weeks.

Such was the constitution drafted by Franklin and adopted, not without serious opposition, by the commissioners at Albany. It remained for the colonies to ratify or reject the new scheme of government. Copies of the proposed constitution were at once transmitted to the several colonial capitals, and were everywhere received with disfavor. The chief objection urged against the instrument was the power of veto given to the governor-general. Nor did the new constitution fare better in the mother country. The English board of trade rejected it with disdain, saying that the froward Americans were trying to make a government of their own. Meanwhile, the French were strengthening their works at Crown Point and Fort Niagara, and rejoicing over their success in Western Pennsylvania.

But the honor of England, no less than the welfare of her colonies, was at stake, and Parliament came to the rescue. It was determined to send a British army to America, to accept the service of such provincial troops as the colonies might

furnish, and to protect the frontier against the aggressions of France. As yet there had been no declaration of war. The ministers of the two nations kept assuring each other of peaceable intentions; but Louis XV. took care to send three thousand soldiers to Canada, and the British government ordered General Edward Braddock to proceed to America with two regiments of regulars. Early in 1755 the English armament arrived in the Chesapeake. On the 14th of April Braddock met the governors of the colonies in a convention at Alexandria. The condition of colonial affairs was fully discussed. It was resolved, since peace existed, not to invade Canada, but to repel the French on the western and northern frontier. The plans of four campaigns were accordingly submitted and ratified. The most important of all was the one Braddock himself as commander-in-chief was to lead with the main body of regulars against Fort du Quesne, retake that post, and expel the French from the Ohio valley.

In the latter part of April the British general set out on his march from Alexandria to Will's Creek. The name of the military post at the mouth of this stream was now changed to Fort Cumberland. Braddock's army numbered fully two thousand men. They were nearly all veterans who had seen service in the wars of Europe. A few provincial troops had joined the expedition; Washington met the army at Fort Cumberland, and became an aid-de-camp of Braddock.

On the last day of May the march began from Fort Cumberland. A select force of five hundred men was thrown forward to open the roads in the direction of Fort du Quesne. The army, marching in a slender column, was extended for four miles along the narrow and broken road. It was in vain that Washington pointed out the danger of ambuscades and suggested the employment of scouting parties. Braddock was self-willed, arrogant, proud; thoroughly skilled in the tactics of European warfare, he could not bear to be advised by an inferior. The sagacious Franklin had admonished him to move with caution; but he only replied that it was impossible for savages to make any impression on His Majesty's regulars. Now, when Washington ventured to repeat the advice, Braddock flew into a passion, strode up and down in his tent, and said that it was high times when Colonel Buckskin could teach a British general how to fight.

On the 19th of June, Braddock put himself at the head of twelve hundred chosen troops and pressed forward more rapidly. On the 8th of July the van reached the junction of the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela. It was only twelve miles farther to Fort du Quesne, and the French gave up the place as lost. On the next morning the English army advanced along the Monongahela, and at noon crossed to the northern bank just beyond the confluence of Turtle Creek. Still there was no sign of an enemy. The road was but twelve feet wide; the country uneven and

woody. There was a dense undergrowth on either hand; rocks and ravines; a hill on the right and a dry hollow on the left. A few guides were in the advance, and some feeble flanking parties; in the rear came the general with the main division of the army, the artillery and the baggage. All at once a quick and heavy fire was heard in the front.

France was not going to give up Fort du Quesne without a struggle. For two months the place had been receiving re-enforcements; still the garrison was by no means able to cope with Braddock's army. Even the Indians realized the disparity of the contest. It was with great difficulty that, on the night before the battle, the commandant of the fort induced the savages to join in the enterprise of ambuscading the British. At last a force of two hundred and thirty French, led by Beaujeu and Dumas, and a body of six hundred and thirty-seven Indians set out from Du Quesne with a view to harass and annoy the English rather than to face them in a serious battle. It was the purpose of the French, who were entirely familiar with the ground, to lay an ambushcade at a favorable point seven miles distant from the fort. They were just reaching the selected spot and settling into ambush when the flanking parties of the English came in sight. The French fired; the Indians yelled and slunk into their hiding-places, and the battle began.

The men wavered, and became mixed in the thick-set underwood. The confusion became

greater, and there were symptoms of a panic. The men fired constantly, but could see no enemy. Every volley from the hidden foe flew with deadly certainty into the crowded ranks of the English. The rash but brave general rushed to the front and rallied his men with the energy of despair; but it was all in vain. The men stood huddled together like sheep, or fled in terror to the rear. The forest was strewn with the dead; the savages, emboldened by their unexpected success, crept farther and farther along the flanks; and the battle became a rout. Braddock had five horses shot under him; his secretary was killed; both his English aids were disabled; only Washington remained to distribute orders. Out of eighty-two officers twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Of the privates seven hundred and fourteen were dead or bleeding with wounds. At last the general received a ball in his right side and sank fainting to the ground. "What shall we do now, colonel?" said he to Washington, who came to his assistance. "Retreat, sir—retreat by all means," replied the young hero, upon whom everything now depended. His own bosom had been for more than two hours a special target for the savages. Two horses had fallen under him, and four times his coat had been torn with balls. A Shawnee chief singled him out and bade his warriors do the same; but their volleys went by harmless. The retreat began at once, and the thirty Virginians, who, with Washington, were all that remained alive, covered the flight of the ruined

army. The artillery, provisions, baggage, and private papers of the general were left on the field.

The losses of the French and Indians were slight, amounting to three officers and thirty men killed, and as many others wounded. There was no attempt made at pursuit. The savages fairly reveled in the spoils of the battlefield. They had never known so rich a harvest of scalps and booty. The tawny chiefs returned to Fort du Quesne clad in the laced coats, military boots, and cockades of the British officers. The dying Braddock was borne in the train of the fugitives. Once he roused himself to say, "Who would have thought it?" and again, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." On the evening of the fourth day he died, and was buried by the roadside a mile west of Fort Necessity. When the fugitives reached Dunbar's camp, the confusion was greater than ever. Dunbar was a man of feeble capacity and no courage; pretending to have the orders of the dying general, he proceeded to destroy the remaining artillery, the heavy baggage, and all the public stores, to the value of a hundred thousand pounds. Then followed a precipitate retreat to Fort Cumberland, and then an abandonment of that place for the safer precincts of Philadelphia. It was only the beginning of August, yet Dunbar pleaded the necessity of finding winter quarters for his forces. The great expedition of Braddock had ended in such a disaster as spread consternation and gloom over all the colonies.

CHAPTER III

RUIN OF ACADIA

By the treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was ceded by France to England. During the following fifty years the colony remained under the dominion of Great Britain, and was ruled by English officers. But the great majority of the people were French, and the English government amounted only to a military occupation of the peninsula. The British colors, floating over Louisburg and Annapolis, and the presence of British garrisons here and there, were the only tokens that this, the oldest French colony in America, had passed under the control of foreigners.

At the time of the cession the population amounted to about three thousand; by the outbreak of the French and Indian War the number had increased to more than sixteen thousand. Lawrence, the deputy-governor of the province, pretended to fear an insurrection. There was ever a spirit of hostility amongst the people and obedience to English laws was grudgingly given. When Braddock and the colonial governors convened at Alexandria, it was urged that something must be done to overawe the French and strengthen the English authority in Acadia. The enterprise of reducing the French peasants to complete humiliation was intrusted to Lawrence, who was to be

assisted by a British fleet under Colonel Monckton. On the 20th of May, 1755, the squadron, with three thousand troops, sailed from Boston for the Bay of Fundy.

The French had no intimation of approaching danger till the English fleet sailed fearlessly into the bay and anchored before the walls of Beau-Séjour. There was no preparation for defense. On the 3d of June the English forces landed. A vigorous siege of four days followed. Fear and confusion reigned among the garrison; no successful resistance could be offered. On the 16th of the month Beau-Séjour capitulated, received an English garrison, and took the name of Fort Cumberland. The feeble post at Gaspereau was taken a few days afterward and named Fort Monckton. Captain Rous was dispatched with four vessels to capture the fort at the mouth of the St. John's; but before the fleet could reach its destination, the French reduced the town to ashes and escaped into the interior. In a campaign of less than a month, and with a loss of only twenty men, the English had made themselves masters of the whole country east of the St. Croix.

The war in Acadia was at an end; but what should be done with the people? The French inhabitants still outnumbered the English nearly three to one. Governor Lawrence and Admiral Boscawen, in conference with the chief justice of the province, settled upon the atrocious measure of driving the people into banishment. The first movement was to demand an oath of allegiance

which was so framed that the French could not take it. The priests advised the peasants to declare their loyalty, but refuse the oath. The next step on the part of the English was to accuse the French of treason, and to demand the surrender of all their firearms and boats. To this measure the broken-hearted people also submitted. They even offered to take the oath, but Lawrence declared that, having once refused, they must now take the consequences. The British vessels were made ready, and the work of forcible embarkation began.

The country about the isthmus was covered with peaceful hamlets. These were now laid waste, and the people driven into the larger towns on the coast. Others were induced by artifice and treachery to put themselves into the power of the English. Wherever a sufficient number of the French could be gotten together they were driven on shipboard. They were allowed to take their wives and children and as much property as would not be inconvenient on the vessels. The estates of the province were confiscated; and what could not be appropriated was given to the flames. The wails of thousands of bleeding hearts were wafted to heaven with the smoke of burning homes. At the village of Grand Pré four hundred and eighteen unarmed men were called together and shut up in a church. Then came the wives and children, the old men and the mothers, the sick and the infirm, to share the common fate. The whole company numbered more than nineteen hun-

dred souls. The poor creatures were driven down to the shore, forced into the boats at the point of the bayonet, and carried to the vessels in the bay. As the moaning fugitives cast a last look at their pleasant town, a column of black smoke floating seaward told the story of desolation. More than three thousand of the hapless Acadians were carried away by the British squadron and scattered, helpless, half-starved, and dying, among the English colonies. The history of civilized nations furnishes no parallel to this wanton and wicked destruction of an inoffensive colony.

CHAPTER IV

EXPEDITIONS OF SHIRLEY AND JOHNSON

THE third campaign planned was to be conducted by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. The expedition was to proceed from Albany to Oswego, and thence by water to the mouth of the Niagara. It was known that Fort Niagara was an insignificant post, depending for its defense upon a small ditch, a rotten palisade, and a feeble garrison. To capture this place, to obtain command of the river, and to cut off the communications of the French by way of the lakes, were the objects of the campaign. "Fort du Quesne can hardly detain me more than three or four days," said Braddock to Shirley, "and then I will meet you at Niagara."

In the early part of August, Shirley set out at the head of nearly two thousand men. It was the last of the month before he reached Oswego. Here the provincial forces had been ordered to assemble. Four weeks were spent in preparing boats for embarkation. When everything was in readiness, a storm arose; and when the storm abated, the winds blew in the wrong direction. Then came another tempest and another delay; then sickness prevailed in the camp. With the beginning of October, Shirley declared the lake to be dangerous for navigation. The Indian allies deserted the standard of a leader whose skill in war consisted in framing excuses. The fact was that the general, while on the march to Oswego, had learned of the destruction of Braddock's army, and feared that a similar fate might overtake his own. October 24th the greater part of the provincial forces, led by Shirley, marched homeward. Only one result of any importance followed from the campaign—the fort at Oswego was well rebuilt and garrisoned with seven hundred men.

Far more important was the expedition intrusted to General William Johnson. The object had in view was to capture the enemy's fortress at Crown Point, and to drive the French from the shores of Lake Champlain. Johnson's army numbered nearly four thousand men, including a body of friendly Mohawks. The active work of the campaign began early in August, when New England troops built Fort Edward, above Albany. The watershed between the Hudson and Lake

George is only twelve miles wide. Johnson's army marched across to the head of the lake and laid out a commodious camp. A week was spent in bringing forward the artillery and stores. The soldiers were busy preparing boats for embarkation, and the important matter of fortifying the camp was wholly neglected.

In the meantime, Dieskau, the daring commandant at Crown Point, determined to anticipate the movements of the English. With a force of fourteen hundred French, Canadians, and Indians he sailed up Lake Champlain to South Bay. From this point he intended to strike to the south, pass the English army, and capture Fort Edward before the alarm could be given. But the news was carried to General Johnson; and a force of a thousand men under command of Colonel Williams, accompanied by Hendrick, the gray-haired chieftain of the Mohawks, with two hundred warriors, was sent to the relief of the endangered fort. On the previous night Dieskau's guides had led him out of his course. On the morning of the 8th of September the French general found himself and his army about four miles north of Fort Edward, on the main road from the Hudson to Lake George. Just at this time Colonel Williams's regiment and the Mohawks came in sight, marching toward the fort. Dieskau quickly formed an ambush, and the English were entrapped. The Canadians and the French poured in a deadly volley; both Williams and Hendrick fell dead, and the English were thrown into con-

fusion. But Colonel Whiting rallied the troops, returned the enemy's fire, and retreated toward the lake.

The noise of battle was heard in Johnson's camp, and preparations were made for a general engagement. There were no intrenchments, but trees were hastily felled for breastworks, and the cannons were brought into position. It was Dieskau's plan to rush into the English camp along with the fugitives whom he was driving before him; but the Indians, afraid of Johnson's guns, would not join in the assault; the Red men retired to a hill at a safe distance. The Canadians were disheartened; and the handful of French regulars made the onset almost unsupported. It was the fiercest battle which had yet been fought on American soil. For five hours the conflict was incessant. In the beginning of the engagement Johnson received a slight wound and left the field; but the troops of New England fought on without a commander. Nearly all of Dieskau's regulars were killed. At last the English troops leaped over the fallen trees, charged across the field, and completed the rout. Three times Dieskau was wounded, but he would not retire. His aids came to bear him off; one was shot dead, and he forbade the others. He ordered his servants to bring him his military dress, and then seated himself on the stump of a tree. A renegade Frenchman belonging to the English army rushed up to make him a prisoner. The wounded general felt for his watch to tender it in token of surrender. The

Frenchman, thinking that Dieskau was searching for a pistol, fired, and the brave commander fell, mortally wounded.

The victory, though complete, was dearly purchased. Two hundred and sixteen of the English were killed, and many others wounded. General Johnson, who had done but little, was greatly praised; Parliament made him a baronet for gaining a victory which the provincials gained for him. Made wiser by the battle, he now constructed on the site of his camp a substantial fort, and named it William Henry. The defenses of Fort Edward were strengthened with an additional garrison, and the remainder of the troops returned to their homes. Meanwhile, the French had re-enforced Crown Point, and had seized and fortified Ticonderoga. Such was the condition of affairs at the close of 1755.

CHAPTER V

TWO YEARS OF DISASTER

AFTER the death of Braddock the chief command of the English forces in America was given to Governor Shirley. But no regular military organization had been effected; and the war was carried on in a desultory manner. Braddock had ruined one army; Shirley had scattered another. On Lake George, Johnson had achieved a marked success. In the beginning of 1756, Washington

at the head of the Virginian provincials repelled the French and Indians in the valley of the Shenandoah. At the same time the Pennsylvania volunteers, choosing Franklin for their colonel, marched to the banks of the Lehigh, built a fort, and made a successful campaign. In the preceding December, Shirley met the colonial governors at New York and planned the movements for the following year.

In the meantime, after much debate in Parliament, it was decided to consolidate and put under one authority all the military forces in America. The earl of Loudoun received the appointment of commander-in-chief. General Abercrombie was second in rank; and forty British and German officers were commissioned to organize and discipline the colonial army. In the last of April, 1756, Abercrombie, with two battalions of regulars, sailed for New York. Lord Loudoun was to follow with a fleet of transports, bearing the artillery, tents, ammunition, and equipage of the expedition. The commander waited a month for his vessels, and then sailed without them. On the 15th of June a man-of-war was dispatched to America with a hundred thousand pounds to reimburse the colonies for the expenses of the previous campaigns. At the same time the corps of British officers arrived at New York. Meanwhile, on the 17th of May, Great Britain, after nearly two years of actual hostilities, made an open declaration of war, which was followed by a similar declaration on the part of France.

On the 25th of June, Abercrombie reached Albany. He began his great campaign by surveying the town, digging a ditch, and quartering his soldiers with the citizens. In July, Lord Loudoun arrived and assumed the command of the colonial army. The French, meanwhile, profiting by these delays, organized a force of more than five thousand men, crossed Lake Ontario, and laid siege to Oswego. The marquis of Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau as commander-in-chief, led the expedition. At the mouth of Oswego River there were two forts; the old block-house on the west and the new Fort Ontario on the east. The latter was first attacked. Thirty pieces of cannon were brought to bear on the fortress. After a brave defense of one day, the little garrison abandoned the works and escaped to the old fort across the river. This place was also invested by the French. For two days the English, numbering only fourteen hundred, held out against the besiegers, and then surrendered. A vast amount of ammunition, small arms, accouterments, and provisions fell to the captors. Six vessels of war, three hundred boats, a hundred and twenty cannon, and three chests of money were the further fruits of a victory by which France gained the only important outpost of England on the lakes. To please his Indian allies, Montcalm ordered Oswego to be razed to the ground.

During this summer the Delawares, false to their treaty, rose in Western Pennsylvania and almost ruined the country. More than a thousand

people were killed or carried into captivity. In August, Colonel John Armstrong, at the head of three hundred volunteers, crossed the Alleghanies, and after a twenty days' march reached the Indian town of Kittaning, forty-five miles northeast from Pittsburg. Lying in concealment until daydawn on the morning of September 8th, the English rose against the savages, and after a desperate battle destroyed them almost to a man. The village was burned and the spirit of the barbarians completely broken. The Americans lost sixteen men. Colonel Armstrong and Captain Hugh Mercer, afterward distinguished in the Revolution, were both severely wounded.

Lord Loudoun continued at Albany. Instead of marching boldly to the north, he whiled away the summer and fall, talked about an attack from the French, digged ditches, slandered the provincial officers, and waited for winter. When the frosts came, he made haste to distribute the colonial troops and to quarter the regulars on the principal towns. The vigilant French, learning what sort of a general they had to cope with, crowded Lake Champlain with boats, strengthened Crown Point, and completed a fort at Ticonderoga. With the exception of Armstrong's expedition against the Indians, the year 1756 closed without a single substantial success on the part of the English.

And the year 1757 was equally disastrous. The campaign which was planned by Loudoun was limited to the conquest of Louisburg, whose

fortress had been made one of the strongest on the continent. On the 20th of June, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York with an army of six thousand regulars. By the first of July he was at Halifax, where he was joined by Admiral Houlbourn with a powerful fleet of sixteen men-of-war. There were on board five thousand additional troops fresh from the armies of England. Never was such a use made of a splendid armament. Loudoun landed before Halifax, cleared off a mustering plain, and set his officers to drilling regiments already skilled in every maneuver of war. To heighten the absurdity, the fields about the city were planted with onions. For it was said that the men might take the scurvy! By and by the news came that the French vessels in the harbor of Louisburg outnumbered by one the ships of the English squadron. To attack a force that seemed superior to his own was not a part of Loudoun's tactics. Ordering the fleet to go cruising around Cape Breton, he immediately embarked with his army, and sailed for New York. Arriving at this place, he proposed to his officers to fortify Long Island in order to defend the continent against an enemy whom he outnumbered four to one.

Meanwhile, the daring Montcalm had made a brilliant campaign in the country of Lake George. With a force of six thousand French and Canadians and seventeen hundred Indians he reached Ticonderoga. The object of the expedition was to capture and destroy Fort William Henry.

Dragging their artillery and boats across the portage to Lake George, they re-embarked, and on the 3d of August laid siege to the English fort. The place was defended by only five hundred men under the brave Colonel Monro; but there were seventeen hundred additional troops within supporting distance in the adjacent trenches. All this while General Webb was at Fort Edward, but fourteen miles distant, with an army of more than four thousand British regulars. Instead of advancing to the relief of Fort William Henry, Webb held a council to determine if it were not better to retire to Albany, and sent a message to Colonel Monro advising capitulation.

For six days the French pressed the siege with vigor. The ammunition of the garrison was nearly exhausted; half of the guns were burst; nothing remained but to surrender. Honorable terms were granted. The English, retaining their private effects, were released on a pledge not to re-enter the service for eighteen months. A safe escort was promised to Fort Edward. On the 9th of August the French took possession of the fortress. Unfortunately, the Indians procured a quantity of spirits from the English camp. Madened with intoxication, and in spite of the utmost exertions of Montcalm and his officers, the savages fell upon the prisoners and began a massacre. Thirty of the English were tomahawked and many others dragged away into captivity. The retirement of the garrison to Fort Edward became a panic and a rout.

Such had been the successes of France during the year that the English had not a single hamlet or fortress remaining in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence. Every cabin where English was spoken had been swept out of the Ohio valley. At the close of the year 1757, France possessed twenty times as much American territory as England; and five times as much as England and Spain together. Such had been the imbecility of the English management in America that the flag of Great Britain was brought into disgrace.

CHAPTER VI

TWO YEARS OF SUCCESSES

GREAT was the discouragement in England. The duke of Newcastle and his associates in the government were obliged to resign. A new ministry was formed, at the head of which was placed that remarkable man, William Pitt, called the Great Commoner. The imbecile Lord Loudoun was deposed from the American army. General Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him; but the main reliance for success was placed, not so much on the commander-in-chief, as on an efficient corps of subordinate officers whom the wisdom of Pitt now directed to America. Admiral Boscawen was put in command of the fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line and fifteen

frigates. The able general Amherst was to lead a division. Young Lord Howe, brave and amiable, was next in rank to Abercrombie. The gallant James Wolfe led a brigade. General Forbes held an important command; and Colonel Richard Montgomery was at the head of a regiment.

Three campaigns were planned for 1758. Amherst, acting in conjunction with the fleet, was to capture Louisburg. Lord Howe, under the direction of the commander-in-chief, was to reduce Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The recovery of the Ohio valley was intrusted to General Forbes. On the 28th of May, Amherst, at the head of ten thousand effective men, reached Halifax. Wolfe put his division into boats, rowed through the surf under fire of the French batteries, and gained the shore without serious loss. The French dismantled their battery and retreated. Wolfe next gained possession of the northeast harbor and planted heavy guns on the cape near the lighthouse. From this position the island battery of the French was soon silenced. Louisburg was fairly invested, and the siege was pressed with great vigor. On the 21st of July three French vessels were burned in the harbor. Two days later, the *Prudent*, a seventy-four gun ship, was fired and destroyed by the English boats. The town was already a heap of ruins, and the walls of the fortress began to crumble. For a whole week the French soldiers had no place where they could rest in safety; of their fifty-two cannon only twelve remained in position. Further resistance

was hopeless. On the 28th of July Louisburg capitulated. Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were surrendered to Great Britain. The garrison, together with the marines, in all nearly six thousand men, became prisoners of war and were sent to England. Amherst after his great success abandoned Louisburg, and the fleet took station at Halifax.

Meanwhile, General Abercrombie had not been idle. On the 5th of July an army of fifteen thousand men, led by Lord Howe, reached Lake George and embarked for Ticonderoga. With heavy guns and abundant stores the expedition proceeded to the northern extremity of the lake and landed on the western shore. The country about the French fortress was very unfavorable for military operations. The English proceeded with great difficulty, leaving their artillery behind. Lord Howe led the advance in person. On the morning of the 6th, when the English were nearing the fort, they fell in with the picket line of the French, numbering no more than three hundred. A severe skirmish ensued; the French were overwhelmed, but not until they had inflicted on the English a terrible loss in the death of Lord Howe. The soldiers were stricken with grief, and began a retreat to the landing. Abercrombie was in the rear, but the soul of the expedition had departed.

On the morning of the 8th the English engineer reported falsely that the fortifications of Ticonderoga were flimsy and trifling. Again the army

was put in motion; and when just beyond the reach of the French guns, the divisions were arranged to carry the place by assault. For more than four hours column after column dashed with great bravery against the breastworks of the enemy, which were found to be strong and well constructed. The defense was made by nearly four thousand French under Montcalm, who, with coat off in the hot July afternoon, was everywhere present encouraging his men. At six o'clock in the evening the English were finally repulsed. The carnage was dreadful, the loss on the side of the assailants amounting in killed and wounded to nineteen hundred and sixteen. In no battle of the Revolution did the British have so large a force engaged or meet so terrible a loss.

The English still outnumbered the French three to one; and they might have easily returned with their artillery and captured the fort. But Abercrombie was not the man to do it. He returned to Fort George, at the head of the lake, and contented himself with sending a force of three thousand men under Colonel Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac. This fortress was situated on the present site of Kingston, at the outlet of Lake Ontario. The place was feebly defended, and a siege of two days compelled a capitulation. The fortress, so important to the French, was demolished. Forty-six cannon, nine vessels of war, and a vast quantity of stores were the fruits of the victory. Except in the waste of life, Bradstreet's success more than counterbalanced the failure of

the English at Ticonderoga. The French were everywhere weakened and despairing. In Canada the crops had failed, and there was almost a famine. "Peace, peace, no matter with what boundaries," was the message which the brave Montcalm sent to the French ministry.

Late in the summer, Forbes, at the head of nine thousand men, advanced from Philadelphia against Fort du Quesne. Washington led the Virginian provincials, and Armstrong, who had so distinguished himself at Kittaning, the Pennsylvanians. The main body moved slowly, clearing a broad road and bridging the streams. Washington and the provincials were impatient. Major Grant, more rash than wise, pressed on to within a few miles of Du Quesne. Attempting to lead the French and Indians into an ambushade, he was himself ambuscaded, and lost a third of his forces. Slowly the main division approached the fort, which was defended by no more than five hundred men. On the 24th of November, Washington with the advance was within ten miles of Du Quesne. During that night the garrison took the alarm, burned the fortress, and floated down the Ohio. On the 25th the victorious army marched over the ruined bastions, raised the English flag, and named the place Pittsburg. The name of the great British minister was justly written over "the gateway of the West."

General Amherst was now promoted to the chief command of the American forces. Parliament cheerfully voted twelve million pounds ster-

ling to carry on the war. The colonies exerted themselves to the utmost. By the beginning of summer, 1759, the British and colonial forces numbered nearly fifty thousand men. The whole population of Canada was only eighty-two thousand; and the entire French army scarcely exceeded seven thousand. Nothing less than the conquest of all Canada would satisfy Pitt's ambition. Three campaigns were planned for the year. General Prideaux was to conduct an expedition against Niagara, capture the fortress, and descend the lake to Montreal. Amherst was to lead the main division against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. General Wolfe was to proceed up the St. Lawrence and finish the work by capturing Quebec.

By way of Schenectady and Oswego, Prideaux led his forces to Niagara. On the 10th of July the place was invested. The French general, D'Aubry, collected a body of twelve hundred men, and marched to the relief of the fort. On the 15th, by the accidental bursting of a mortar, General Prideaux was killed. Sir William Johnson, succeeding to the command, disposed his forces so as to intercept the approaching French. On the morning of the 24th, D'Aubry's army came in sight. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the French were completely routed, leaving their unnumbered dead scattered for miles through the forest. On the next day Niagara capitulated and received an English garrison. The French forces in the town, to the number of six hundred, be-

came prisoners of war. Communication between Canada and Louisiana was forever broken.

At the same time Amherst was conquering on Lake Champlain. With an army of more than eleven thousand men he proceeded against Ticonderoga. The French did not dare to stand against them. There was a slight skirmish, and then the trenches were deserted. On the 26th the French garrison, having partly destroyed the fortifications, abandoned Ticonderoga and re-



The Heights of Quebec

treated to Crown Point. Five days afterward they deserted this place also. The whole country of Lake Champlain had been recovered without a battle.

It remained for General Wolfe to achieve the final victory. As soon as a tardy spring had cleared the St. Lawrence of ice, he began the ascent of the river. His force consisted of nearly eight thousand men, assisted by a fleet of forty-four vessels. On the 27th of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec. The English camp was pitched at the

upper end of the island. Wolfe's vessels gave him immediate command of the river, and the southern bank was undefended. On the night of the 29th, General Monckton was sent with four battalions to seize Point Levi. The movement was successful, and an English battery was planted opposite the city. From this position the Lower Town was soon reduced to ruins, and the Upper Town much injured; but the fortress seemed impregnable. The French, knowing that it would be impossible to storm the city from the river side, had drawn their line of intrenchment from the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, reaching for five miles from the Montmorenci to the St. Charles. Here Montcalm with ten or twelve thousand French and Canadians awaited the movements of his antagonist.

Wolfe was restless and anxious for battle. On the 9th of July he crossed the north channel, and encamped with his army on the east bank of the Montmorenci. It was determined in a council of war to hazard an engagement. The Montmorenci was fordable when the tide ran out. The attack was planned for July 31st, at the hour of low water. Generals Townshend and Murray were ordered to ford the stream with their two brigades, and at the same time Monckton's regiments of regulars were to cross the St. Lawrence from Point Levi and aid in the assault. The signal was given, and the grenadiers of Murray and Townshend dashed across the Montmorenci; but the boats of Monckton ran aground, and there was

considerable delay. The impatient grenadiers, without waiting for orders or support, rushed forward against the French intrenchments, and were driven back with great loss. Before the regulars could be formed in line the battle was decided. Night was approaching; the tide rising; a storm portended; and Wolfe, after losing nearly five hundred men, withdrew to his camp.

Disappointment, exposure, and fatigue threw the English general into a violent fever, and for many days he was confined to his tent. A council of officers was called, and the indomitable leader proposed a second assault on the French lines. But the proposition was overruled, and it was decided to ascend the St. Lawrence, and if possible gain possession of the Plains of Abraham, in the rear of the city. The camp on the Montmorenci was accordingly broken up, and on the 6th of September the troops and artillery were conveyed to Point Levi. Keeping the French excited with appearances of activity, Wolfe again transferred his army to a point several miles up the river. He then busied himself with a careful examination of the northern bank, in the hope of finding some path among the precipitous cliffs by which to gain the plains. On the 11th he discovered the place called Wolfe's Cove, and decided that here it was possible to make the ascent. Montcalm, deceived by the movements of the fleet, was still in the trenches below the city.

On the night of the 12th of September everything was in readiness. The English silently en-

tered their transports and dropped down the river to the cove. With great difficulty the soldiers clambered up the rocky steeps; the feeble Canadian guard on the summit was dispersed; and in the gray dawn of morning Wolfe marshaled his army for battle. Montcalm was in amazement when he heard the news. "They are now on the weak side of this unfortunate town," said he; "and we must crush them before mid-day." With great haste the French were brought from the trenches and thrown between Quebec and the advancing English. The battle began with an hour's cannonade; then Montcalm attempted to turn the English flank, but was beaten back. The Canadians and Indians were routed. Then came the weakened battalions of the French; but they were poorly disciplined; the ground was uneven, and Montcalm's lines advanced brokenly. The English reserved their fire until the advancing columns were within forty yards, and then discharged volley after volley. The French wavered and were in confusion. Wolfe, leading the charge, was wounded in the wrist. Again he was struck, but pressed on at the head of his grenadiers. Just at the moment of victory a third ball pierced his breast, and he sank quivering to the earth. "They run, they run!" said the attendant who bent over him. "Who run?" was the feeble response. "The French are flying everywhere," replied the officer. "Do they run already? Then I die happy," said the expiring hero; and his spirit passed away amid the smoke of battle. Monckton

was dangerously wounded and borne from the field. Montcalm, still attempting to rally his broken regiments, was struck with a ball, and fell. "Shall I survive?" said he to his surgeon. "But a few hours at most," replied the attendant. "So much the better," replied the heroic Frenchman. "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec."

Further defense of the Canadian stronghold was useless. Five days after the battle the French authorities surrendered to General Townshend, and an English garrison took possession of the citadel. The year 1759 closed with the complete triumph of the English arms. In the following spring France made a great effort to recover her losses. A severe battle was fought a few miles west of Quebec, and the English were driven into the city. But re-enforcements came, and the French were beaten back. On the 8th of September, in the same year, Montreal, the last important post of France in the valley of the St. Lawrence, surrendered to General Amherst. Canada had passed under the dominion of England.

For three years the war between France and England continued on the ocean. The English fleets were everywhere victorious. On the 10th of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was made at Paris. All the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain. At the

same time Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English Crown. Thus closed the French and Indian War, one of the most important in the history of mankind. By this conflict it was decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail in the West; and that the powerful language, laws, and liberties of the English race should be planted forever in the vast domains of the New World.

PART IV
REVOLUTION AND CONFEDERATION

A.D. 1775-1789

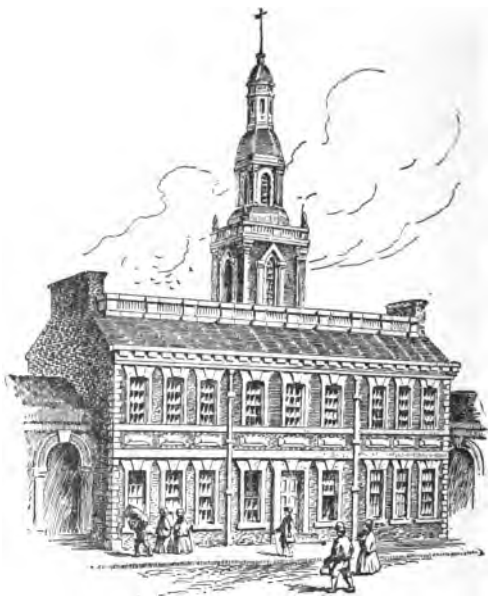
CHAPTER I

CAUSES

THE war of American Independence was an event of vast moment, affecting the destinies of all nations. The question decided by the conflict was this: Whether the English colonies in America, becoming sovereign, should govern themselves or be ruled as dependencies of a European monarchy. The decision was rendered in favor of separation and independence. The result has been the grandest and most promising example of republican government in the history of the world. The struggle was long and distressing, though not characterized by great violence; the combatants were of the same race and spoke a common language. It

is of the first importance to understand the causes of the war.

The most general cause of the American Revolution was The Right of Arbitrary Government,



Independence Hall in 1776

claimed by Great Britain and denied by the colonies. So long as this claim was asserted by England only as a theory, the conflict was postponed; when the English government began to enforce the principle in practice, the colonies resisted. The question began to be openly discussed about the

time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and from that period until the beginning of hostilities, in 1775, each year witnessed a renewal of the agitation. But there were also many subordinate causes tending to bring on a conflict.

First of these was *the influence of France*, which was constantly exerted so as to incite a spirit of resistance in the colonies. It was the theory of France that by giving up Canada on the north the English colonies would become so strong as to renounce their allegiance to the crown. England feared such a result. More than once it was proposed in Parliament to re-cede Canada to France in order to check the growth of the American States. "There, now!" said a French statesman when the treaty of 1763 was signed; "we have arranged matters for an American rebellion in which England will lose her empire in the West."

Another cause leading to the Revolution was found in *the natural disposition and inherited character of the colonists*. They were, for the most part, republicans in politics and dissenters in religion. The people of England were monarchists and High Churchmen. Few of the colonists had ever seen a king. The Atlantic lay between them and the British ministry. Their dealings with the royal officers had been such as to engender a dislike for monarchical institutions. The people of America had not forgotten—could not well forget—the circumstances under which their ancestors had come to the New World. For six gen-

erations the colonists had managed their own affairs; and their methods of government were necessarily republican. The experiences of the French and Indian War had shown that Americans were fully able to defend themselves and their country.

The growth of public opinion in the colonies tended to independence. The more advanced thinkers came to believe that a complete separation from England was not only possible, but desirable. As early as 1755, John Adams, then a young school-teacher in Connecticut, wrote in his diary: "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." Such opinions were at first expressed only in private, then by hints in pamphlets and newspapers, and at last publicly and everywhere. The mass of the people, however, were slow to accept an idea which seemed so radical and dangerous. Not until the war had actually begun did the majority declare for independence.

Another cause of the conflict with the mother country was found in *the personal character of the king*. George III., who ascended the English throne in 1760, was one of the worst monarchs of modern times. His notions of government were altogether despotic. He was a stubborn, stupid, thickheaded man in whose mind the notion of human rights was entirely wanting. In the management of the British empire he employed only those who were the narrow-minded partisans of his own policy. With such a king and such a ministry it

was not likely that the descendants of the Pilgrims would get on smoothly.

The more immediate cause of the Revolution was the passage by Parliament of *a number of acts destructive of colonial liberty*. These acts were resisted by the colonies, and the attempt was made by Great Britain to enforce them with the bayonet. The subject of this unjust legislation, which extended over a period of twelve years just preceding the war, was the question of taxation. It is a well-grounded principle of English common law that the people, by their representatives in the House of Commons, have the right of voting whatever taxes and customs are necessary for the support of the kingdom. The American colonists claimed the full rights of Englishmen. With good reason it was urged that the general assemblies of colonies held the same relation to the American people as did the House of Commons to the people of England. The English ministers replied that Parliament, and not the colonial assemblies, was the proper body to vote taxes in any and all parts of the British empire. But we are not represented in Parliament, was the answer of the Americans; the House of Commons may therefore justly assess taxes in England, but not in America. Many of the towns, boroughs, and shires in these British isles have no representatives in Parliament, and yet the Parliament taxes them, replied the ministers, now driven to sophistry. If any of your towns, boroughs, and shires are not represented in the House of Commons, they *ought* to be, was the

American rejoinder, and there the argument ended. Such were the essential points of the controversy. It is now proper to notice the several parliamentary acts which the colonies complained of and resisted.

The first of these was the Importation Act, passed in 1733. This statute was itself a kind of supplement to the old Navigation Act of 1651. By the terms of the newer law exorbitant duties were laid on all the sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the colonies. At first the payment of these unreasonable customs was evaded by the merchants, and then the statute was openly set at naught. In 1750 it was further enacted that iron-works should not be erected in America. The manufacture of steel was specially forbidden; and the felling of pines, outside of inclosures, was interdicted. All of these laws were disregarded and denounced by the people of the colonies as being unjust and tyrannical. In 1761 a strenuous effort was made by the ministry to enforce the Importation Act. The colonial courts were authorized to issue to the king's officers a kind of search-warrants, called Writs of Assistance. Armed with this authority, petty constables might enter any and every place, searching for and seizing goods which were suspected of having evaded the duty. At Salem and Boston the greatest excitement prevailed. The application for the writs was resisted before the courts. James Otis, an able and temperate man, pleaded eloquently for colonial rights, and denounced the parliamentary acts as unconsti-

tutional. The address was a masterly defense of the people, and produced a profound sensation throughout the colonies. Already there were hints at resistance by force of arms.

The year 1764 witnessed the first formal declaration of the purpose of Parliament to tax the colonies. Mr. Grenville was now prime minister. On the 10th of March a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons declaring that it would be proper to charge certain stamp duties on the American colonies. It was announced that a bill embodying this principle would be prepared by the ministers and presented at the next session of Parliament. In the meantime, the news of the proposed measure was borne to America. Universal excitement and indignation prevailed in the colonies. Political meetings became the order of the day. Orators were in great demand. The newspapers teemed with arguments against the proposed enactment. Resolutions were passed by the people of almost every town. Formal remonstrances were addressed to the king and the two houses of Parliament. Agents were appointed by the colonies and sent to London in the hope of preventing the passage of the law.

A new turn was now given to the controversy. The French and Indian War had just been concluded with a treaty of peace. Great Britain had incurred a heavy debt. The ministers began to urge that the expenses of the war ought to be borne by the colonies. The Americans replied that England ought to defend her colonies, from mo-

tives of humanity; that in the prosecution of the war the colonists had aided Great Britain as much as Great Britain had aided them; that the cession of Canada had amply remunerated England for her losses; that it was not the payment of money which the colonies dreaded, but the surrender of their liberties. It was also added that in case of another war the American States would try to fight their own battles.

Early in March of 1765, the English Parliament, no longer guided by the counsels of Pitt, passed the celebrated Stamp Act. In the House of Commons the measure received a majority of five to one. In the House of Lords the vote was unanimous. "The sun of American liberty has set," wrote Benjamin Franklin to a friend at home. "Now we must light the lamps of industry and economy." "Be assured," said the friend, in reply, "that we shall light *torches of another sort*." And the answer reflected the sentiment of the country.

The provisions of the Stamp Act were briefly these: Every note, bond, deed, mortgage, lease, license, and legal document of whatever sort, required in the colonies, should, after the 1st day of the following November, be executed on paper bearing an English stamp. This stamped paper was to be furnished by the British government; and for each sheet the colonists were required to pay a sum varying, according to the nature of the document, from threepence to six pounds sterling. Every colonial pamphlet, almanac, and newspaper

was required to be printed on paper of the same sort, the value of the stamps in this case ranging from a halfpenny to fourpence; every advertisement was taxed two shillings. No contract should be of any binding force unless written on paper bearing the royal stamp.

The news of the hateful act swept over America like a thundercloud. The people were at first grief-stricken; then indignant; and then wrathful. Crowds of excited men surged into the towns, and there were some acts of violence. The muffled bells of Philadelphia and Boston rung a funeral peal; and the people said it was the death-knell of liberty. In New York a copy of the Stamp Act was carried through the streets with a death's head nailed to it, and a placard bearing this inscription: *The Folly of England and the Ruin of America*. The general assemblies were at first slow to move; there were many loyalists among the members. It was hazardous for a provincial legislator to say that an act of the British Parliament was the act of tyrants. But the younger representatives, hot-blooded as well as patriotic, did not hesitate to express their sentiments. In the Virginia House of Burgesses there was a memorable scene.

Patrick Henry, the youngest member of the House, waited for some older delegate to lead the burgesses in opposition to Parliament. But the older members hesitated or went home. Offended at this lukewarmness, Henry in his passionate way snatched a blank-leaf out of an old lawbook and

hastily drew up a series of fiery resolutions, declaring that the Virginians were Englishmen with English rights; that the people of Great Britain had the exclusive privilege of voting their own taxes, and so had the Americans; that the colonists were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxation on them. The resolutions were at once laid before the house.

A violent debate ensued. Two future Presidents of the United States were in the audience; Washington occupied his seat as a delegate, and Thomas Jefferson, a young collegian, stood just outside of the railing. The eloquent and audacious Henry bore down all opposition. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus," said the indignant orator; "Charles I. had his Cromwell, and George III."—"Treason!" shouted the Speaker. "Treason! treason!" exclaimed the terrified loyalists, springing to their feet. "—And George III. may profit by their example," continued Henry; and then added as he took his seat, "If that be treason, make the most of it!" The resolutions were put to the house and carried; but the majorities on some of the votes were small, and the next day, when Henry was absent, the most violent paragraph was reconsidered and expunged: some of the members were greatly frightened at their own audacity. But the resolutions in their entire form had gone before the country as the formal expression of the oldest American commonwealth, and the effect on the other colonies was like the shock of a battery.

Similar resolutions were adopted by the assemblies of New York and Massachusetts—in the latter State before the action of Virginia was known. At Boston, James Otis successfully agitated the question of an American Congress. The proposition was favorably received; nine of the colonies appointed delegates; and on the 7th of October, 1765, the First Colonial Congress assembled at New York. There were twenty-eight representatives: Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. After much discussion a Declaration of Rights was adopted and memorials were prepared and addressed to the two houses of Parliament. A manly petition, professing loyalty and praying for a more just and humane policy toward his American subjects, was directed to the king.

The 1st of November came. On that day the Stamp Act was to take effect. During the summer great quantities of the stamped paper had been prepared and sent to America. Ten boxes of it were seized by the people of New York and openly destroyed. In Connecticut, the stamp-officer was threatened with hanging. In Boston, houses were destroyed and the stamps given to the winds and flames. Whole cargoes of the obnoxious paper were reshipped to England; and every stamp-officer in America was obliged to resign or leave the country. By the 1st of November there were scarcely stamps enough remaining to furnish after times with specimens. The day was kept as a day of mourning. The stores were closed; flags were

hung at half-mast; the bells were tolled; effigies of the authors and abettors of the Stamp Act were borne about in mockery, and then burned. The people of New Hampshire formed a funeral procession and buried a coffin bearing the inscription of Liberty. A cartoon was circulated hinting at union as the remedy for existing evils. The picture represented a snake broken into sections. Each joint was labeled with the initials of a colony; the head was marked "N. E." for New England; and the title was *Join or Die!*

At first, legal business was almost entirely suspended. The courthouses were shut up. Society was at a standstill; not even a marriage license could be legally issued. By and by, the people breathed more freely; the offices were opened, and business went on as before; but was *not* transacted with stamped paper. It was at this juncture that the patriotic society known as the Sons of Liberty was organized. The members were pledged to oppose British tyranny to the utmost, and to defend with their lives the freedom of the colonies. Equally important was the action of the colonial merchants. The importers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia entered into a solemn compact to purchase no more goods of Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed.

Great was the wrath of the British government when the news of these proceedings was borne across the ocean. But a large party of English tradesmen and manufacturers sided with the colo-

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nists. Better still, some of the most eminent statesmen espoused the cause of America. Before the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt delivered a powerful address. "You have," said he, "no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." The new Whig prime minister, the marquis of Rockingham, was also a friend of the colonies, and looked with disfavor on the legislation of his predecessor. On the 18th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was formally repealed. As a kind of balm to soothe the wounded feelings of the Tories, a supplemental resolution had been passed a few days earlier declaring that Parliament had the authority to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. This is known as the Declaratory Act.

The joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act both in England and America was unbounded. The vessels in the river Thames were decked with flags, and the colonial orators spoke to enthusiastic crowds gathered around bonfires. There was a great calm in all the country; but it was only the lull before the coming of a greater storm. A few months after the repeal of the Stamp Act the ministry of Rockingham was dissolved and a new cabinet formed under the leadership of Pitt, who was now made earl of Chatham. Unfortunately, however, the prime minister was for a long time confined by sickness to his home in the country.

During his absence, Mr. Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, in a moment of unparalleled folly, brought forward a new scheme for taxing America. On the 29th of June, 1767, an act was passed imposing a duty on all the glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea which should thereafter be imported into the colonies. At the same time a resolution was adopted suspending the powers of the general assembly of New York until that body should vote certain supplies for the royal troops stationed in the province. A more rash and disastrous piece of legislation never was enacted.

All the smothered resentment of the colonies burst out anew. The newspapers were filled with bitter denunciations of Parliament. Early in 1768 the assembly of Massachusetts adopted a circular calling upon the other colonies for assistance in the effort to obtain redress of grievances. Governor Bernard dissolved the assembly; but the members would not disperse until they had prepared a list of charges against the governor and requested the king to remove him.

In the month of June fuel was added to the flame. A sloop, charged with attempting to evade the payment of duty, was seized by the custom-house officers. The people rose in a mob; attacked the houses of the officers, and obliged the occupants to seek shelter in Castle William, at the entrance of the harbor. The governor now appealed to the ministers for help; and General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was ordered to bring from Halifax a

regiment of regulars and overawe the people. On the 1st of October the troops, seven hundred strong, marched with fixed bayonets into the capital of Massachusetts. The people were maddened by this military invasion of their city. When the governor required the selectmen of Boston to provide quarters for the soldiers, he was met with an absolute refusal; and the troops were quartered in the state-house.

In February of 1769, Parliament advanced another step toward war. The people of Massachusetts were declared rebels, and the governor was directed to arrest those deemed guilty of treason and send them to England for trial. The general assembly met this additional outrage with defiant resolutions. Scenes almost as violent as these were at the same time enacted in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter State a popular insurrection was suppressed by Governor Tryon; the insurgents, escaping across the mountains, obtained lands of the Cherokees, and became the founders of Tennessee.

Early in 1770 a serious affray occurred in New York. The soldiers wantonly cut down a liberty pole which had stood for several years in the park. A conflict ensued, in which the people came out best; another pole was erected in the northern part of the city. On the 5th of March a more serious difficulty occurred in Boston. An altercation had taken place between a party of citizens and the soldiers. A crowd gathered, surrounded Captain Preston's company of the city guard,

hooted at them, and dared them to fire. At length the exasperated soldiers discharged a volley, killing three of the citizens and wounding several others. This outrage, known as the Boston Massacre, created a profound sensation. The city was ablaze with excitement. Several thousand men assembled under arms. Governor Hutchinson came out, promising that justice should be done and trying to appease the multitude. The brave Samuel Adams spoke for the people. An immediate withdrawal of the troops from the city was demanded, and the governor was obliged to yield. Captain Preston and his company were arrested and tried for murder. The prosecution was conducted with great spirit, and two of the offenders were convicted of manslaughter. Meanwhile Parliament, under the guidance of Lord North, who had become prime minister, repealed all the duties on American imports except that on tea. This was retained to show that the right to tax the colonies had not been relinquished. Thereupon the people resolved to do without tea.

In 1773 the ministers attempted to enforce the tea-tax by a stratagem. Owing to the duty, the price of tea in the American market had been doubled. But there was no demand for the article; for the people would not buy. As a consequence the warehouses of Great Britain were stored with vast quantities of tea, awaiting shipment to America. Parliament now removed the export duty which had hitherto been charged on tea shipped from England. The price was by so

much lowered; and the ministers persuaded themselves that, when the cheaper tea was offered in America, the silly colonists would pay their own import duty without suspicion or complaint.

To carry out this scheme English ships were loaded with tea for the American market. Some of the vessels reached Charleston; the tea was landed, but the people forbade its sale. The chests were stored in moldy cellars, and the contents ruined. At New York and Philadelphia the ports were closed and the ships forbidden to enter. At Boston the vessels entered the harbor. But the authorities would not permit the tea to be landed. On the 16th of December the dispute was settled in a memorable manner.



The Boston Tea Party

There was a great town-meeting at which seven thousand people were assembled. Adams and Quincy spoke to the multitudes. Evening came on, and the meeting was about to adjourn, when a war-whoop was heard, and about fifty men disguised as Indians passed the door of the Old South Church. The crowd followed to Griffin's wharf, where the three tea-ships were at anchor. Then everything became quiet. The disguised men quickly boarded the vessels, broke open the three hundred and forty chests of tea that composed the cargoes, and

poured the contents into the sea. Such was the Boston Tea Party.

Parliament made haste to find revenge. On the last day of March, 1774, the Boston Port Bill was passed. It was enacted that no kind of merchandise should any longer be landed or shipped at the wharves of Boston. The custom-house was removed to Salem, but the people of that town refused the benefits which were proffered by the hand of tyranny. The inhabitants of Marblehead tendered the free use of their warehouses to the merchants of Boston. When the news of the passage of the Port Bill reached Virginia, the burgesses at once entered a protest on the journals of the house. When Governor Dunmore ordered the members to their homes, they met in another place, and passed a recommendation for a general congress of the colonies. On the 20th of May the venerated charter of Massachusetts was annulled by act of Parliament. The people were declared rebels; and the governor was ordered to send abroad for trial all persons who should resist the royal officers. The colonial assembly made answer by adopting a resolution that the powers of language were not sufficient to express the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the acts of Parliament.

In September, 1774, the Second Colonial Congress, usually called the First Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia. Eleven colonies were represented. It was unanimously agreed to sustain Massachusetts in her conflict with a wicked

ministry. One address was sent to the king; another to the English nation; and another to the people of Canada. Before adjournment a resolution was adopted recommending the suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the wrongs of the colonies should be redressed. Parliament immediately retaliated by ordering General Gage, who had been recently appointed governor of Massachusetts, to reduce the colonists by force. A fleet and an army of ten thousand soldiers were sent to America to aid in the work of subjugation.

In accordance with the governor's orders, Boston Neck was seized and fortified. The military stores in the arsenals at Cambridge and Charlestown were conveyed to Boston; and the general assembly was ordered to disband. Instead of doing so, the members resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and voted to equip an army of twelve thousand men for the defense of the colony. There was no longer any hope of a peaceable adjustment. The mighty arm of Great Britain was stretched out to smite and crush the sons of the Pilgrims. It was now the early spring of 1775, and the day of battle was at hand.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING

As soon as the intentions of General Gage were manifest, the people of Boston, concealing their ammunition in cart-loads of rubbish, conveyed it to Concord, sixteen miles away. Gage detected the movement, and on the night of the 18th of April dispatched a regiment of eight hundred men to destroy the stores. Another purpose of the expedition was to capture John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were supposed to be hidden at Lexington or Concord. The plan of the British general was made with great secrecy; but the patriots were on the alert, and discovered the movement.

About midnight the regiment, under command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, set out for Concord. The people of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge were roused by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannons. Two hours before, the vigilant Joseph Warren had dispatched William Dawes and Paul Revere to ride with all speed to Lexington and to spread the alarm through the country. At five o'clock the British van, under command of Pitcairn, came in sight. The provincials to the number of seventy assembled; Captain Parker was their leader. Pitcairn rode up and exclaimed: "Disperse, ye villains! Throw down your arms, ye rebels, and disperse!" The

minute-men stood still; Pitcairn discharged his pistol at them, and with a loud voice cried, "Fire!" The first volley of the Revolution whistled through the air, and sixteen of the patriots, nearly a fourth of the whole number, fell dead or wounded. The rest fired a few random shots, and then dispersed.

The British pressed on to Concord; but the inhabitants had removed the greater part of the stores to a place of safety, and there was but little destruction. Two cannons were spiked, some artillery carriages burned, and a small quantity of ammunition thrown into a mill-pond. While the British were ransacking the town the minute-men began to assemble from all quarters. Attempting to enter the village, the patriots encountered a company of soldiers who were guarding the North Ridge, over Concord River. Here the Americans, for the first time, fired under orders of their officers, and here two British soldiers were killed. The bridge was taken by the provincials, and the enemy began a retreat—first into the town, and



Paul Revere

then through the town on the road to Lexington. This was the signal for the minute-men to attack the foe from every side. For six miles the battle was kept up along the road. Hidden behind rocks, trees, fences, and barns, the patriots poured a constant fire upon the thinned ranks of the retreating enemy. Nothing but good discipline and



The British Retreat at Concord

re-enforcements which, under command of Lord Percy, met the fugitives just below Lexington, saved the British from total rout and destruction. The fight continued to the precincts of Charlestown, the militia becoming more and more audacious in their charges. The American loss in this the first battle of the war was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded and five missing; that of the enemy was two hundred and seventy-three—a

greater loss than the English army sustained on the Plains of Abraham.

The battle of Lexington fired the country. Within a few days an army of sixteen thousand men had gathered about Boston. A line of intrenchments encompassing the city was drawn from Roxbury to Chelsea. And the number constantly increased. John Stark came down at the head of the New Hampshire militia. Israel Putnam, with a leather waistcoat on, was helping some men to build a stone wall on his farm when the news from Lexington came flying. Hurrying to the nearest town, he found the militia already mustered. Bidding the men follow as soon as possible, he mounted a horse and rode to Cambridge, a distance of a hundred miles, in eighteen hours. Rhode Island sent her quota under the brave Nathanael Greene. Benedict Arnold came with the provincials of New Haven. Ethan Allen, of Vermont, made war *in the other direction*.

This daring and eccentric man was chosen colonel by a company of two hundred and seventy patriots who had assembled at Bennington. Before the battle of Lexington, the legislature of Connecticut had privately voted a thousand dollars to encourage an expedition against Ticonderoga. To capture this important fortress, with its vast magazine of stores, was the object of Allen and the audacious mountaineers of whom he was the leader. On the evening of the 9th of May, the force, whose movements had not been

discovered, reached the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga.

Only a few boats could be procured; and when day broke on the following morning, but eighty-three men had succeeded in crossing. With this mere handful—for the rest could not be waited for—Allen made a dash, and gained the gateway of the fort. Allen's men hastily faced the barracks and stood ready to fire; he himself rushed to the quarters of Delaplace, the commandant, and shouted for the incumbent to get up. The startled official thrust out his head. "Surrender this fort instantly," said Allen. "By what authority?" inquired the astounded officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!"* said Allen, flourishing his sword. Delaplace had no alternative. The garrison, numbering forty-eight, were made prisoners and sent to Connecticut. A fortress which had cost Great Britain eight million pounds sterling was captured in ten minutes by a company of undisciplined provincials. By this daring exploit a hundred and twenty cannon and vast quantities of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans. Two days afterward Crown Point was also taken without the loss of a life.

On the 25th of May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston. They brought with them powerful re-enforcements from England

* This saying will appear especially amusing when it is remembered that the "Continental Congress" referred to did not convene until about *six hours after Ticonderoga was captured.*

and Ireland; the British army was augmented to more than ten thousand men. Gage, becoming arrogant, issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would submit, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock; these two were to suffer the penalty of treason—provided Gage could inflict it. It was now rumored—and the rumor was well founded—that the British were about to sally out of Boston with the purpose of burning the neighboring towns and devastating the country. The Americans determined to anticipate this movement by seizing and fortifying Bunker Hill, a height which commanded the peninsula of Charlestown.

On the night of the 16th of June the brave Colonel Prescott, grandfather of Prescott the historian, was sent with a thousand men to occupy and intrench the hill. Marching by way of Charlestown Neck, the provincials came about eleven o'clock to the eminence which they were instructed to fortify. Prescott and his engineer Gridley, not liking the position of Bunker Hill, proceeded down the peninsula seven hundred yards to another height, afterward called Breed's Hill. The latter was within easy cannon range of Boston, and there, from midnight to day-dawn, the men worked in silence. The British ships in the harbor were so near that the Americans could hear the sentinels on deck repeating the night call, "All is well." The works were not yet completed when morning revealed the new-made redoubt to the astonished British of Boston.

"We must carry those works immediately," said General Gage to his officers. For he saw that Prescott's cannon now commanded the city. Just after noon a British column of about three thousand veterans, commanded by Generals Howe and Pigot, landed at Morton's Point. The plan was to carry Breed's Hill by assault. The Americans numbered in all about fifteen hundred. They were worn out with toil and hunger; but there was no quailing in the presence of the enemy. During the cannonade Prescott climbed out of the defenses and walked leisurely around the parapet in full view of the British officers. Generals Putnam and Warren volunteered as privates, and entered the trenches. At three o'clock in the afternoon Howe ordered his column forward. At the same time every gun in the fleet and batteries was turned upon the American position. Charlestown was wantonly set on fire and four hundred buildings burned. Thousands of eager spectators climbed to the house-tops in Boston and waited to behold the shock of battle. On came the British in a stately and imposing column.

The Americans reserved their fire until the advancing line was within a hundred and fifty feet. "Fire!" cried Prescott; and instantly from breastwork and redoubt every gun was discharged. The front rank of the British melted away; there was a recoil, and fifteen minutes afterward a precipitate retreat. Beyond musket range Howe rallied his men and led them to the second charge. Again the American fire was withheld until the enemy was

but a few rods distant. Then with steady aim volley after volley was poured upon the charging column until it was broken and a second time driven into flight.

For the third time the assaulting column was put in motion. The British soldiers came on with fixed bayonets up the hillside strewn with the dead and dying. The Americans had but three or four



rounds of ammunition remaining. These were expended on the advancing enemy. Then there was a lull. The British clambered over the ramparts. The provincials clubbed their guns and hurled stones at the assailants. It was in vain; the heroic defenders of liberty were driven out of their trenches at the point of the bayonet. Prescott lived through the battle, but the brave Warren gave his life for freedom. The loss of

the British in this engagement was a thousand and fifty-four in killed and wounded. The Americans lost a hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty-two prisoners.

The battle of Bunker Hill rather inspired than discouraged the colonists. It was seen that the British soldiers were not invincible. To capture a few more hills would cost General Gage his whole army. The enthusiasm of war spread throughout the country. The news was borne rapidly to the South, and a spirit of determined opposition was everywhere aroused. The people began to speak of the United Colonies of America.

On the day of the capture of Ticonderoga the colonial Congress, which had adjourned in the previous autumn, reassembled at Philadelphia. Washington was there, and John Adams and Samuel Adams, Franklin and Patrick Henry; Jefferson came soon afterward. A last appeal was addressed to the king of England; and the infuriated monarch was plainly told that the colonists had chosen war in preference to voluntary slavery. Early in the session John Adams made a powerful address, in the course of which he sketched the condition and wants of the country and of the army. The necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief and the qualities requisite in that high officer were dwelt upon; and then the speaker concluded by putting in nomination George Washington, of Virginia. As soon as his name was mentioned, Washington arose and withdrew from the

hall. For a moment he was overpowered with a sense of the responsibility which was about to be put upon him, and to his friend, Patrick Henry, he said with tears in his eyes: "I fear that this day will mark the downfall of my reputation." On the 15th of June the nomination was unanimously confirmed by Congress; and the man who had saved the wreck of Braddock's army was called to build a nation.

George Washington, descended from the distinguished family of the Wessyngtons in England, was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 11th of February (Old Style), 1732. At the age of eleven he was left, by the death of his father, to the sole care of a talented and affectionate mother. His education was limited to the common branches of learning, extending only to geometry and trigonometry. Surveying was his favorite study. In his boyhood he was passionately fond of athletic sports and military exercises. As he grew to manhood he was marked above all his companions for the dignity of his manners, the soundness of his judgment, and the excellence of his character. At the age of sixteen he was sent by his uncle to survey a tract of land on the South Potomac, and for three years his life was in the wilderness. On reaching his majority he was already more spoken of than any other young man in the colony. The important duties which he performed in the service of the Ohio Company, the beginning of his military career, and his noted campaign with Braddock have already been nar-

rated. After the French and Indian War he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses; was then chosen a member of the Continental Congress; and was now called by that body to control the destinies of the unorganized mass of men composing the American army.



George Washington
"The Father of Our Country"

With great dignity he accepted the appointment, refused all compensation beyond his actual expenses, set out with an escort by way of New York, and reached Cambridge fifteen days after the battle of Bunker Hill.

Washington's duties and responsibilities were overwhelming. Congress had voted to raise and equip twenty thousand men, but the means of doing so were not furnished. The colonies had not yet broken their allegiance to the British Crown. For six months Congress stood waiting for the king's answer to its address. Washington had a force of fourteen thousand five hundred men, but they were undisciplined and insubordinate. The revenues and supplies of war were almost wholly wanting. At the time of the

battle of Bunker Hill the whole army had but twenty-seven half-barrels of powder. The work of organization was at once begun. Four major-generals, one adjutant, and eight brigadiers were appointed. The army was arranged in three divisions. The right wing, under General Ward, held Roxbury; the left, commanded by General Charles Lee, rested at Prospect Hill, near Charlestown Neck; the center, under the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief, lay at Cambridge. Boston was regularly invested, and the siege was pressed with constantly increasing vigor.

During the summer and autumn of 1775, the king's authority was overthrown in all the colonies. The royal governors either espoused the cause of the people, were compelled to resign, or were driven off in insurrections. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, seized the public powder. Patrick Henry led the people, and demanded restitution. The governor was overawed, and paid the value of the powder. Fearing further aggression, he went on board a man-of-war, proclaimed freedom to the slaves, raised a force of loyalists, met the provincials at the village of Great Bridge near Norfolk, and was defeated. Obligated to retire from the country, he gratified his vindictive disposition by burning Norfolk.

It was believed that the Canadians would make common cause against Great Britain. In order to encourage such a movement, an expedition was planned against the towns on the St. Lawrence. Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were placed

in command of a division which was to proceed by way of Lake Champlain and the river Sorel to St. John and Montreal. Montgomery captured St. John and Fort Chambly a few miles north of it. He then invested Montreal and on November 13 the town surrendered.

Leaving garrisons in the conquered towns, Montgomery proceeded with his regiment, now reduced to three hundred men, against Quebec. This stronghold was already threatened from another quarter. Late in the autumn, Colonel Benedict Arnold set out with a thousand men from Cambridge, passed up the Kennebec, and urged his way through the wilderness. The march was one of untold hardship and suffering. As winter came on the men were brought to the verge of starvation. The daring leader pressed on in the hope of gathering supplies from some unguarded French village. Before his return the famishing soldiers had killed and devoured every dog that could be found. Then the brave fellows gnawed the roots of trees and ate their mooseskin moccasins until Arnold's return, when the whole force proceeded to Quebec. Morgan, Greene, and Meigs, all three noted leaders of the Revolution, and Aaron Burr, one day to become Vice-President of the United States, were in this company of suffering heroes.

When Montgomery arrived, he assumed command of the whole force, which did not exceed nine hundred effective men. Quebec was defended by superior numbers, well fortified, and warmly

quartered. For three weeks, with his handful of men, Montgomery besieged the town, and then, relying only on the courageous valor of his men, determined to stake everything on an assault.

It was the last day of December, 1775. Before daybreak the little army was divided into four columns, in order to attack the city at different points. "Men of New York," said the brave Montgomery, "you will not fear to follow where your general leads! Forward!" There were masses of ice and clouds of blinding snow, and broken ground and the cold gray light of morning. As the Americans were rushing forward, all of a sudden a battery burst forth with a storm of grape-shot. At the first discharge Montgomery and both of his aids fell dead. The column was shattered. The men were heartbroken at the death of their beloved general. They staggered a moment, then fell back, and returned to Wolfe's Cove, above the city.

Arnold, ignorant of what had happened, fought his way into the Lower Town on the north. While leading the charge he was severely wounded and borne to the rear. Captain Morgan, who succeeded him, led his brave band farther and farther along the narrow and dangerous streets until he was overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold retired with his broken remnant to a point three miles above the city. Re-enforcements soon began to arrive; but the smallpox broke out in the camp, and active operations could not be resumed. As soon as the ice disappeared from the

St. Lawrence, Quebec was strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops from England. Governor Carleton now began offensive movements; the Americans fell back from post to post, until, by the middle of the following June, Canada was entirely evacuated.

The worst calamity of the whole campaign was the death of General Richard Montgomery. He was one of the noblest of the many noble men who gave their lives in the cause of American liberty. Born of an illustrious Irish family, he became a soldier in his boyhood. He had shared the toils and the triumph of Wolfe. To the enthusiasm of a warm and affectionate nature he joined the highest order of military talents and the virtues of an exalted character. Even in England his death was mentioned with sorrow. New York, his adopted State, claimed his body, brought his remains to her own metropolis, and buried them with tears. To after times the Congress of the nation transmitted his fame by erecting a noble monument

CHAPTER III

THE WORK OF '76

AT last came the king's answer to the appeal of Congress. It was such an answer as George III. and his ministers always made to the petitioners for human rights. The colonies were insulted and

spurned; their petition was treated with contempt. The king of England did not know any such body as the Continental Congress. The first thing necessary was to disband the army and to submit without conditions. Then the monarch would settle all questions with each colony separately. By this offensive and tyrannical answer the day of independence was brought nearer.

Meanwhile, General Howe had succeeded Gage in command of the British troops in Boston. All winter long the city was besieged by Washington. By the middle of February the American army had increased to fourteen thousand men.

On the north, Boston was commanded by the peninsula of Charlestown; on the south, by Dorchester Heights. Since the battle of Bunker Hill the former position had been held by the British; the latter was, as yet, unoccupied. Washington now resolved to take advantage of the enemy's oversight, to seize the Heights and drive Howe out of Boston. A strong intrenching party was prepared and put under the command of General Thomas. For two days the attention of the



Nathan Hale
From a Statue in City
Hall Park, New
York City

British was drawn by a constant fire from the American batteries. Then, on the night of the 4th of March, the detachment set out under cover of the darkness, passed over Dorchester Neck, and reached the Heights unperceived. Through the night the Americans worked with an energy rarely equaled. The British, distracted with the cannonade, noticed nothing unusual; and when morning dawned, they could hardly trust their senses. There was a line of formidable intrenchments frowning upon the city; cannon were mounted, and the Americans in force. Howe saw at a glance that he must immediately carry the threatening redoubts or himself abandon Boston. Enraged at being outgeneraled, he ordered Lord Percy to select a column of two thousand four hundred men and storm the American works before nightfall.

But while Percy delayed, a violent storm arose and rendered the harbor impassable. Before the following morning the Americans had so strengthened and extended their fortifications that all thoughts of an assault were abandoned. Howe found himself reduced to the humiliating extremity of giving up the capital of New England to the rebels.

After some days there was an informal agreement between Washington and the British general that the latter should be allowed to retire from Boston unmolested on condition that the city should not be burned. On the 17th of March the arrangement was consummated, and the whole British army went on board the fleet and sailed

out of the harbor. Nearly fifteen hundred loyalists, fearing the vengeance of the patriots, left their homes and fortunes to escape with Howe. On the 20th, Washington made a formal entry at the head of the triumphant army. The desolated town, escaping from the calamities of a ten months' siege, broke forth in exultation. The exiled patriots returned by thousands to their homes. The country was wild with delight. From all quarters came votes of thanks and messages of encouragement. Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of Washington, victorious over an enemy "for the first time put to flight."

The next care of the commander-in-chief was to strengthen the defenses of Boston. That done, he repaired with the main division of the army to New York. It was not known to what part of the coast Howe would direct his course; and Washington feared that his antagonist might make a sudden descent in the neighborhood of Long Island. General Lee pressed forward with the Connecticut militia, and reached New York just in time to baffle an attempt of Sir Henry Clinton, whose fleet arrived off Sandy Hook and threatened the city. Clinton next sailed southward, and on the 3d of May was joined by Sir Peter Parker, in command of another fleet, and Lord Cornwallis with two thousand five hundred men. The force was deemed sufficient for any enterprise, and it was determined to capture Charleston.

In the meantime, General Lee had reached the

South, and was watching the movements of Clinton. The Carolinians rose in arms and flocked to Charleston. The city was fortified; and a fort, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, was built on Sullivan's Island. On the 4th of June the British squadron came in sight, and a strong detachment was landed on Long Island, a short distance east of Fort Sullivan. There was a delay until the 28th of the month; then the British fleet began a furious bombardment of the fortress, which was commanded by Colonel Moultrie. Three men-of-war, attempting to pass the fort, were stranded. For eight hours the vessels of the fleet poured a tempest of balls upon the fort; but the walls, built of the spongy palmetto, were little injured. The four hundred militiamen who composed the garrison fought like veterans. The republican flag was shot away and thrown outside of the parapet; Sergeant Jasper leaped down from the wall, recovered the flag, and set it in its place again. As evening drew on the British were obliged to retire with a loss of more than two hundred men. The loss of the garrison amounted in killed and wounded to thirty-two. As soon as the British could repair their shattered fleet they abandoned the siege and set sail for New York. In honor of its brave defender the fort on Sullivan's Island was named Fort Moultrie.

During the summer Washington's forces were augmented to about twenty-seven thousand men; but the terms of enlistment were constantly expiring; sickness prevailed in the camp; and the effect-

ive force was but little more than half as great as the aggregate. On the other hand, Great Britain was making the greatest preparations. By a treaty with some of the petty German States, seventeen thousand Hessian mercenaries were hired to fight against America. Twenty-five thousand additional English troops were levied.

By these measures the Americans were greatly exasperated. Until now it had been hoped that the difficulty with the mother country could be satisfactorily adjusted without breaking allegiance to the British Crown. The colonists had constantly claimed to be loyal subjects of Great Britain, demanding only the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Now the case seemed hopeless; and the sentiment of disloyalty spread with alarming rapidity. The people urged the general assemblies, and the general assemblies urged Congress, to a more decided assertion of sovereignty. The legislature of Virginia led the way by advising in outspoken terms a declaration of independence. Congress responded by recommending all the colonies to adopt such governments as might best conduce to the happiness and safety of the people. This action was taken early in May, and in the course of the following month nearly all the provinces complied with the recommendation.

Finally, on the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution in Congress declaring that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance

to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved. A long and exciting debate ensued. The sentiment of independence gained ground; but there was still strong opposition to the movement. After some days the final consideration of Lee's resolution was postponed until the 1st of July. On the 11th of June a committee, consisting of five members, was appointed



Signing the Declaration of Independence

to prepare a more elaborate and formal declaration. Mr. Lee had been called home by sickness; and his colleague, Thomas Jefferson, was accordingly made chairman of the committee. The other members were John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York. The special work of preparing the paper was allotted to Jefferson and Adams; the

latter deferred to the former, whose vigorous style of writing specially fitted him for the task. The great document was accordingly produced in Jefferson's hand, with a few interlinings by Adams and Franklin.

On the 1st of July, Lee's resolution was taken up, and at the same time the committee's report was laid before Congress. On the next day the original resolution was adopted. During the 3d, the formal declaration was debated with great spirit, and it became evident that the work of the committee would be accepted. The discussion was resumed on the morning of the 4th, and at two o'clock on the afternoon of that memorable day the Declaration of American Independence was adopted by a unanimous vote.

All day long the old bellman of the State House had stood in the steeple ready to sound the note of freedom to the city and the nation. The hours went by; the gray-haired veteran in the belfry grew discouraged, and began to say: "They will never do it—they will never do it." Just then the lad who had been stationed below ran out and exclaimed at the top of his voice, "Ring! ring!" And the aged patriot did ring as he had never rung before. The multitudes that thronged the streets caught the signal and answered with shouts of exultation. Swift couriers bore the glad news



Liberty Bell

throughout the land. Everywhere the declaration was received with enthusiastic applause. At Philadelphia the king's arms were torn down from the courthouse and burned in the street. At Williamsburg, Charleston, and Savannah there were



Faneuil Hall

bonfires and illuminations. At Boston the declaration was read in Faneuil Hall, while the cannon from Fort Hill and Dorchester shook the city of the Puritans. At New York the populace pulled down the leaden statue of George III. and cast it into bullets. Washington received the message with joy, and ordered the declaration to be read at the head of each brigade. Former suffer-

ing and future peril were alike forgotten in the general rejoicing.

The leading principles of the Declaration of Independence are these: That all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that human governments are instituted for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the people have a natural right to alter their government whenever it becomes destructive of liberty; that the government of George III. had become destructive of liberty; that the despotism of the king and his ministers could be shown by a long list of indisputable proofs—and the proofs are given; that time and again the colonies had humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances; that all their petitions had been spurned with derision and contempt; that the king's irrational tyranny over his American subjects was no longer endurable; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery; and that, therefore, the United Colonies of America are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. To the support of this sublime declaration of principles the members of the Continental Congress mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

On leaving Boston, General Howe sailed to Halifax. There he remained until the middle of June, when he embarked his forces and set sail for Sandy Hook. Early in July he landed a force of nine thousand men on Staten Island. Thither Clinton came from the unsuccessful siege of

Charleston, and Admiral Howe, brother of General Howe, from England. The whole British force, now gathered in the vicinity of New York, amounted to fully thirty thousand men. Nearly half of them were Hessians, whom the king of Great Britain had hired at thirty-six dollars a head. Washington's army was inferior in numbers, poorly equipped, and imperfectly disciplined.

Lord Howe, the admiral, had been instructed to try conciliatory measures. First, he sent to the American camp an officer with a dispatch directed to George Washington, *Esquire*. Of course Washington refused to receive a communication which did not recognize his official position. In a short time Howe sent another message, addressed to George Washington, etc., etc., etc.; and the bearer, who was Howe's adjutant-general, insisted that *and-so-forth* might be translated *General of the American Army*. Washington was the last man in the world to be caught with a subterfuge; and the adjutant was sent away. It was already well known that Howe's authority extended only to granting pardons, and to unessential matters about which the Americans were no longer concerned. Washington therefore replied that since no offense had been committed no pardon was required; that the colonies were now independent, and would defend themselves against all aggression.

Baffled in his efforts, Lord Howe and his brother determined to begin hostilities. On the 22d of August the British, to the number of ten

thousand, landed on the southwestern coast of Long Island, near the village of New Utrecht. The Americans, about eight thousand strong, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Stirling, were posted in the vicinity of Brooklyn. The British army was arranged in three divisions. The first column, commanded by General Grant, was to advance by way of New Utrecht and the Narrows. The second division, composed of the Hessians, under command of General Heister, was to proceed to Flatbush, and thence to Bedford and Brooklyn. The third and strongest column, led by Clinton and Cornwallis, was to make a circuit to the right as far as Flatland, reach the Jamaica road, and pass by way of Bedford to the rear of the American left wing. All of the movements were executed with perfect ease and fatal precision.

The advance from Gravesend began on the morning of the 27th of August. Grant's division proceeded as far as the hill now embraced in Greenwood Cemetery, where he met General Stirling with fifteen hundred men; and the battle at once began. But in this part of the field there was no decisive result. Heister, in command of the British center, advanced beyond Flatbush, and engaged the main body of the Americans, under General Sullivan. Here the battle began with a brisk cannonade, in which the Hessians gained little or no ground until Sullivan was suddenly alarmed by the noise of battle on his left and rear, and the battalions of Clinton came rushing on the field.

For General Putnam, who had come over and taken command of the entire force of the island, had, neglectful of Washington's orders, failed to guard the passes on the left of the American army. During the previous night Clinton had occupied the heights above the Jamaica road, and now his force came down, unopposed and unperceived, by way of Bedford. Sullivan found himself surrounded, cut off, hemmed in between the two divisions of Clinton and Heister. From that moment it was only a question as to what part of the army could be saved from destruction. The men fought desperately, and many broke through the closing lines of the British. The rest were scattered, killed, or taken prisoners.

Cornwallis's division pressed on to cut off the retreat of Stirling. At first the British were repulsed, and Stirling began his retreat toward Brooklyn. At Gowanus Creek a number of his men were drowned and many others captured; the rest reached the American lines in safety. Before the battle was ended Washington arrived on the field, and his soul was wrung with anguish at the sight. At first his army seemed ruined; but his resolute and tranquil spirit rose above the disasters of the battle. Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull were all prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Nearly a thousand patriot soldiers were killed, wounded, or missing. It seemed an easy thing for Clinton and Howe to press on and capture all the rest. Yet in a few hours Washington brought together his shattered forces, reorganized

his brigades, and stood ready for an assault in the trenches back of Brooklyn.

During the 28th, Howe, who was a sluggish, sensual man, ate pudding and waited for a fitter day. On the 29th there was a heavy fog over island and bay and river. Washington, clearly perceiving that he could not hold his position, and that his army was in great peril, resolved to withdraw to New York. The enterprise was extremely hazardous, requiring secrecy, courage, and dispatch. By eight o'clock on that memorable night every boat and transport that could be obtained was lying at the Brooklyn ferry. There, under cover of the darkness, the embarkation began. Washington personally superintended every movement. All night with muffled oars the boatmen rowed silently back and forth, bearing the patriots to the northern side of the channel. At daylight on the following morning, just as the last boatload was leaving the wharf, the movement was discovered by the British. They rushed into the American intrenchments, and found nothing there except a few worthless guns. General Greene, who was a competent judge, declared that Washington's retreat was the most masterly he ever read or heard of.

The defeat on Long Island was very disastrous to the American cause. The army was dispirited. As fast as their terms of enlistment expired the troops returned to their homes. Desertions became alarmingly frequent; and it was only by constant exertion that Washington kept his army

from disbanding. To add to the peril, the British fleet doubled Long Island and anchored within cannon-shot of New York. Washington, knowing himself unable to defend the city, called a council of war, and it was determined to retire to the Heights of Harlem. On the 15th of September the British landed in force on the east side of Manhattan Island, about three miles above New York. Thence they extended their lines across the island to the Hudson, and took possession of the city. It was in this juncture of affairs that Howe made overtures of peace to Congress. General Sullivan was paroled and sent to Philadelphia as Howe's agent; but Congress was in no mood to be conciliated. Franklin, on behalf of that body, wrote Howe a letter, telling him many unpalatable truths about what might henceforth be expected from the American colonies.

After a skirmish at Harlem Heights in which the Americans gained the advantage, Howe, on October 16, embarked his forces, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed in the vicinity of Westchester. The object was to get upon the American left flank and cut off communications with the Eastern States. Washington, ever on the alert, detected the movement, put his army in motion and faced the British east of Harlem River. For some days the two generals maneuvered, and on the 28th a battle was brought on at White Plains. Howe began the engagement with a furious cannonade, which was answered with spirit. The Americans were driven from one important posi-

tion, but immediately re-intrenched themselves in another. Night came on; Howe waited for re-enforcements, and Washington withdrew to the heights of North Castle. Howe remained for a few days at White Plains, and then returned to New York.

Washington, apprehending that the British would now proceed against Philadelphia, crossed to the west bank of the Hudson and took post with General Greene at Fort Lee. Four thousand men were left at North Castle under command of General Lee. Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, five miles north of the city, was defended by three thousand men under Colonel Magaw. This fort was a place of great natural and artificial strength. The skill of its construction had attracted the attention of Washington and led to an acquaintance with a young man, who from that time forth, through the stormy vicissitudes of nearly a quarter of a century, enjoyed the unclouded confidence of his chief; it was Alexander Hamilton, then a stripling of but twenty years of age.

On the 16th of November the British attacked Fort Washington in overwhelming force. The garrison made a stubborn defense. More than five hundred of the assailants were killed or wounded. But valor could not prevail against superior numbers, and Magaw, after losing a hundred and fifty men, was obliged to capitulate. The garrison, numbering more than two thousand, were made prisoners of war and were crowded into

the foul jails of New York. Two days after the surrender, Cornwallis crossed the Hudson with a body of six thousand men and marched against Fort Lee. Seeing that a defense would only end in worse disaster, Washington hastily withdrew across the Hackensack. All the baggage and military stores collected in Fort Lee fell into the hands of the British, who at once pressed forward after the retreating Americans. Washington with his army, now reduced to three thousand men, crossed the Passaic to Newark; but Cornwallis and Knyp-hausen came hard after the fugitives. The patriots retreated to Elizabethtown, thence to New Brunswick, thence to Princeton, and finally to Trenton on the Delaware. The British were all the time in close pursuit, and the music of their bands was frequently heard by the rear guard of the American army. Nothing but the consummate skill of Washington saved the remnant of his forces from destruction. Despair seemed settling on the country like a pall.

On the 8th of December, Washington crossed the Delaware. The British essayed to do the same, but the American commander had secreted or destroyed every boat within seventy miles. In order to effect his passage, Cornwallis must build a bridge or wait for the freezing of the river. The latter course was chosen; and the British army was stationed in detachments in various towns and villages east of the Delaware. Trenton was held by a body of about twelve hundred Hessians under Colonel Rahl. It was seen that as soon as the

river should be frozen the British would march unopposed into Philadelphia. Congress accordingly adjourned to Baltimore; and there a resolution was adopted arming Washington with dictatorial powers to direct all the operations of the war, for a period of six months.

During his retreat across New Jersey, Washington had sent repeated dispatches to General Lee, in command of the detachment at North Castle, to join the main army as soon as possible. Lee was a proud, insubordinate man, and virtually disobeyed his orders. Marching leisurely into New Jersey, he reached Morristown. Here he tarried, and took up his quarters at an inn at Basking Ridge. On the 13th of December, a squad of British cavalry dashed up to the tavern, seized Lee, and hurried him off to New York. General Sullivan, who had recently been exchanged, now took command of Lee's division, and hastened to join Washington. Fifteen hundred volunteers from Philadelphia and vicinity were added, making the entire American force a little more than six thousand.

The tide of misfortune turned at last. Washington saw in the disposition of the British forces an opportunity to strike a blow for his disheartened country. The leaders of the enemy were off their guard. They believed that the war was ended. Cornwallis obtained leave of absence, left New Jersey under command of Grant, and made preparations to return to England. The Hessians on the east side of the river were spread out from

Trenton to Burlington. Washington conceived the bold design of crossing the Delaware and striking the detachment at Trenton before a concentration of the enemy's forces could be effected. The American army was accordingly arranged in three divisions. The first, under General Cadwallader, was to cross the river at Bristol and attack the British at Burlington. General Ewing with his brigade was to pass over a little below Trenton for the purpose of intercepting the retreat. Washington himself, with Greene and Sullivan and twenty-four hundred men, was to cross nine miles above Trenton, march down the river, and assault the town. The movement was planned with the utmost secrecy—the preparations made with prudence and care. Christmas night was selected as the time; for it was known that the Hessians would spend the day in drinking and carousals.

About the 20th of the month, the weather became very cold, and by the evening of the 25th the Delaware was filled with floating ice. Ewing and Cadwallader were both baffled in their efforts to cross the river. Washington's division succeeded in getting over, but the passage was delayed till three o'clock in the morning. All hope of reaching Trenton before daybreak was at an end; but Washington, believing that the Hessians would sleep late after their revels, divided his army into two columns and pressed forward. One division, led by Sullivan, passed down the river to attack the town on the west; the other, commanded by Washington and Greene, made a cir-

cuit to the Princeton road. The movement was entirely successful. At eight o'clock in the morning the American columns came rushing into the village from both directions. The astonished Hessians sprang from their quarters and attempted to form in line. At the first onset Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded. Forty or fifty others fell before the volleys of the patriots. For a few min-



Washington Crossing the Delaware

utes there was confusion, and then a cry for quarter. Nearly a thousand of the dreaded Hessians threw down their arms and begged for mercy. Before nightfall Washington, with his victorious men and the whole body of captives, was safe on the other side of the Delaware.

The battle of Trenton roused the nation from despondency. Confidence in the commander and

hope in the ultimate success of the American cause were everywhere revived. The militia from the neighboring provinces flocked to the general's standard; and fourteen hundred soldiers, whose term of enlistment now expired, cheerfully re-entered the service. It was at this time that Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, the great financier of the Revolution, came forward with his princely fortune to the support of his distressed country. As to Cornwallis, he found it necessary to postpone his visit to England and hasten back to New Jersey.

Three days after his victory, Washington again crossed the Delaware and took post at Trenton. Here all the American detachments in the vicinity were ordered to assemble. To General Heath, in command of the New England militia stationed at Peekskill, on the Hudson, Washington sent orders to move into New Jersey. The British fell back from their outposts on the Delaware and concentrated in great force at Princeton. Cornwallis took command in person, and resolved to attack and overwhelm Washington at Trenton. So closed the year. Ten days previously, Howe only waited for the freezing of the Delaware before taking up his quarters in Philadelphia. Now it was a question whether he would be able to hold a single town in New Jersey.

CHAPTER IV

OPERATIONS OF '77

ON the 1st of January, 1777, Washington's army at Trenton numbered about five thousand men. On the next day Cornwallis approached from Princeton with greatly superior forces. As the columns of the enemy pressed on, Washington abandoned the village and took up a stronger position on the south side of Assanpink Creek. The British, attempting to force a passage, were driven back; it was already sunset, and Cornwallis deferred the attack till the morrow.

Washington's position was critical in the extreme. To attempt to recross the Delaware was hazardous. To retreat in any direction was to lose all that he had gained by his recent victory. To be beaten in battle was utter ruin. In the great emergency he called a council of war and announced his determination to leave the camp by night, make a circuit to the east, pass the British left flank, and strike the detachment at Princeton before his antagonist could discover or impede the movement. In order to deceive the enemy, the campfires along the Assanpink were brightly kindled and a guard left to keep them burning through the night. Then the army was put in motion by the circuitous route to Princeton. Everything was done in silence, and the British sentries walked their beats until the morning light

showed them a deserted camp. Just then the roar of the American cannon, thirteen miles away, gave Cornwallis notice of how he had been out-generaled.

At sunrise Washington was entering Princeton. At the same moment the British regiments stationed there were marching out by the Trenton road to re-enforce Cornwallis. The Americans met them in the edge of the village, and the battle at once began. The patriots, under General Mercer, posted themselves behind a hedge, and were doing good work with their muskets until the British charged bayonets. Then the militia gave way in confusion, and Mercer, one of the bravest of the brave, received a mortal wound. But the Pennsylvania reserves and regulars were at hand, led by the commander-in-chief. The valor of Washington never shone with brighter luster. He spurred among his flying men, who rallied at his call. He rode between the hostile lines and reined his horse within thirty yards of the enemy's column. There he stood. From both sides there came a crash of musketry. Washington's aid drew his hat over his eyes that he might not see the chieftain die. The wind tossed up the smoke, and there, unhurt, was the sublime leader of the American armies. The British were already broken and flying, with a loss of four hundred and thirty men in killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Americans was small; but the gallant Mercer was greatly lamented.

Washington now withdrew to the north, and

on the 5th of January took a strong position at Morristown. Cornwallis hastened to New Brunswick to protect his stores. In a short time the whole of New Jersey north of Newark and Elizabethtown was recovered by the patriots. In all parts of the State the militia rose in arms; straggling parties of the British were cut off, and the outposts of the enemy were kept in constant alarm. Vexed by the perpetual assaults of partisan warfare, Cornwallis gradually contracted his lines, abandoning one post after another, until his whole force was cooped up in New Brunswick and Amboy. The boastful British army that was to have taken Philadelphia now thought only of a safe return to New York. The winter was marked by two or three minor incidents—the capture of Peekskill by the British with considerable American stores; an expedition of two thousand British under General Tryon against Danbury, Connecticut, who, after burning the town, were driven back to their ships; and an expedition of Americans in May under Colonel Meigs against Sag Harbor on Long Island, resulting in the capture of the post with large stores and the hundred men who garrisoned it. For this gallant deed Meigs received an elegant sword from Congress.

Washington remained in his camp at Morristown until the latter part of May. Cornwallis was still at New Brunswick, and it was necessary that the American commander should watch the movements of his antagonist. The patriot forces

of the North were now concentrated on the Hudson; and a large camp, under command of Arnold, was laid out on the Delaware. Both divisions were within supporting distance of Washington, who now broke up his winter-quarters and took an advantageous position at Boundbrook, only ten miles from the British camp. Howe now crossed over from New York, re-enforced Cornwallis, and threatened an attack upon the American lines; but Washington stood his ground, and Howe pressed forward as far as Somerset Courthouse, in the direction of the Delaware. The movement was only a feint intended to draw Washington from his position; but he was too wary to be deceived, and the British fell back through New Brunswick to Amboy. The American lines were now advanced as far as Quibbletown. While in this position, Howe, on the night of the 25th of June, turned suddenly about and made a furious attack on the American van; but Washington withdrew his forces without serious loss and regained his position at Boundbrook. Again the British retired to Amboy, and on the 30th of the month crossed over to Staten Island. After more than six months of maneuvering and fighting the invading army was fairly driven out of New Jersey.

On the 10th of July a brilliant exploit was performed in Rhode Island. Colonel William Barton, of Providence, learning that Major-General Prescott of the British army was quartered at a farmhouse near Newport, apart from his division, determined to capture him. On the night

of the 10th of July the daring colonel, with forty volunteers, embarked at Providence, dropped down the bay, and reached the island near Prescott's lodgings. The movement was not discovered. The British sentinel was deceived with a plausible statement, and then threatened with death if he did not remain quiet. The patriots rushed forward, burst open Prescott's door, seized him in bed, and hurried him, half-clad, to the boats. The alarm was raised; a squad of cavalry came charging to the water's edge; but the provincials were already paddling out of sight with their prisoner. This lucky exploit gave the Americans an officer of equal rank to exchange for General Lee. Colonel Barton was rewarded with promotion and an elegant sword.

Meanwhile, Congress had returned to Philadelphia. The American government was at this time essentially weak in its structure and inefficient in action. Nevertheless, there was much valuable legislation which tended to strengthen the army and the nation. But the most auspicious sign that gladdened the patriots was the unequivocal sympathy of the French. From the beginning of the contest the people of France had espoused the American cause. Now, after the lapse of two years, their sympathy became more outspoken and enthusiastic. True, the French government would do nothing openly which was calculated to provoke a war with Great Britain. Outwardly the forms and sentiments of peace were preserved between the two nations; but secretly the French

rejoiced at British misfortune and applauded the action of the colonies. Soon the Americans came to understand that if money was required, France would lend it; if supplies were needed, France would furnish them; if arms were to be purchased, France had arms to sell. During the year 1777 the French partisans of America managed to supply the colonies with more than twenty thousand muskets and a thousand barrels of powder.

At last the republicans of France, displeased with the double-dealing of their government, began to embark for America. Foremost of all came the gallant young Marquis of La Fayette.* Though the king withheld permission, though the British minister protested, though family and home and kindred beckoned the youthful nobleman to return, he left all to fight the battle of freedom in another land. Fitting a vessel at his own expense, he eluded the officers, and with the brave De Kalb and a small company of followers reached Georgetown, South Carolina, in April of 1777. He at once entered the patriot army as a volunteer, and in the following July was commissioned as a major-general. Not yet twenty years of age, he clung to Washington as son to father, and through life their friendship was unclouded.

One of the most important events of the whole war was the campaign of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. This distinguished British officer arrived at Quebec in March of 1777. Superseding Sir

* La Fayette's name was *Gilbert Motier*.

Guy Carleton in command of the English forces in Canada, he spent the months of April and May in organizing a powerful army for the invasion of New York. By the beginning of June he had thoroughly equipped a force of ten thousand men, of whom about seven thousand were British and Hessian veterans; the rest were Canadians and Indians. The plan of the campaign embraced a descent upon Albany by way of Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the upper Hudson. By this means New England was to be cut off from the Middle and Southern colonies and the whole country placed at the mercy of Howe. That any successful resistance could be offered to the progress of the invading army was little imagined.

On the 1st of June, Burgoyne reached St. John's, at the foot of Lake Champlain, and on the 16th proceeded to Crown Point. This place, which was undefended, was occupied by a British garrison; and the main army swept on to Ticonderoga, which was at that time held by three thousand men under General St. Clair. The British soon gained possession of Mount Defiance, and planted a battery seven hundred feet above the American works. Mount Hope was also seized and retreat by way of Lake George cut off. St. Clair, seeing that resistance would be hopeless, abandoned the fort on the night of the 5th of July, and escaped with the garrison.

At this time the American army of the North was commanded by General Schuyler, a man whose patriotism was greater than his abilities. His

headquarters were at Fort Edward, where he remained until after the arrival of St. Clair. The garrison now numbered between four and five thousand men; but this force was deemed inadequate to hold the place against Burgoyne's army. Schuyler therefore evacuated the post and retreated down the Hudson as far as the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk. Burgoyne came on by way of Fort Ann, which the Americans had demolished, and thence through the woods over obstructed roads to Fort Edward, where he arrived on the 30th of July. Fearing that his supplies would be exhausted before he could reach Albany, the British general now made a halt, and dispatched Colonel Baum with five hundred men to seize the provincial stores at Bennington, Vermont. Colonel John Stark rallied the New Hampshire militia, and on the 15th of August met the British a short distance from the village. On the following morning there was a furious battle, in which Baum's force was fairly annihilated. A battalion of Hessians, led by Breymann, arrived on the field, only to be utterly routed by the Americans, who were re-enforced by the gallant Colonel Warner. The British lost a hundred and forty killed and wounded, and nearly seven hundred prisoners. The whole country was thrilled by the victory, and the patriots began to rally from all quarters.

A few days after the battle of Bennington, Burgoyne received intelligence of a still greater reverse. At the beginning of the invasion a large

force of Canadians, Tories, and Indians, commanded by General St. Leger, had been sent by way of Oswego against Fort Schuyler, at the head of navigation on the Mohawk. This important post was held by a small garrison under Colonel Gansevoort. On the 3d of August, St. Leger invested the fort, and it seemed that successful defense was impossible; but the brave General Herkimer rallied the militia of the surrounding country and advanced to the relief of the garrison. When nearing the fort, the patriots fell into an Indian ambuscade, and a terrible hand-to-hand conflict ensued in the woods. Herkimer was defeated with a loss of a hundred and sixty men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the savages was almost as great. Hardly had the conflict ended when the garrison made a sally, carried everything before them, and then fell back with trophies and prisoners. Already the impetuous and fearless Arnold had volunteered to lead a detachment from the Hudson for the relief of the fort. At his approach the savages plundered the British camp and fled. St. Leger, dismayed at the treachery of the barbarians, raised the siege and retreated. Fort Schuyler was saved and strengthened. Such was the news that was borne to Burgoyne at Fort Edward.

The British general had now lost a month in procuring supplies from Canada. Should he retreat? Ruin and disgrace were in that direction. Should he go forward? More than nine thousand patriot soldiers were in *that* direction. For

General Lincoln had arrived with the militia of New England; Washington had sent several detachments from the regular army; Morgan had come with his famous riflemen. Meanwhile, General Gates had superseded Schuyler in command of the northern army. On the 8th of September the American headquarters were advanced to Stillwater. At Bemis's Heights, a short distance north of this place, a strong camp was laid out and fortified under direction of the noted Polish engineer, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. On the 14th of the month, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson and took post at Saratoga. Until the 18th he advanced his camp a mile each day, when the two armies were face to face and but two miles apart. On the afternoon of the 19th the advance parties of the British attacked the American wings, and a general battle ensued, continuing until nightfall. The conflict, though severe, was indecisive; the Americans retired within their lines, and the British slept under arms on the field. To the patriots, whose numbers were constantly increasing, the result of the battle was equivalent to a victory.

The condition of Burgoyne grew more and more critical. On all sides the lines of Gates were closing around him. His supplies failed; his soldiers were put on partial rations; his Indian allies deserted his standard. But the British general was courageous and resolute; he strengthened his defenses and flattered his men with the hope that General Clinton, who now commanded the British army in New York, would make a diversion in

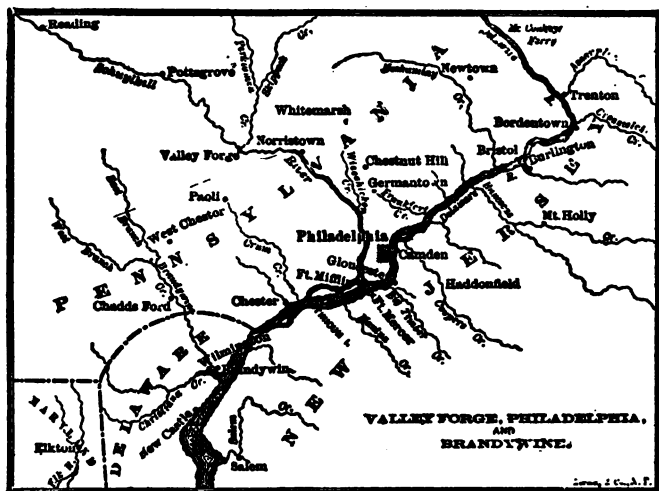
their favor. The latter did ascend the river as far as Forts Clinton and Montgomery. Both these forts, after an obstinate defense, were carried by assault. Colonel Vaughan was sent on with a thousand men as far as the town of Kingston, which was burned; besides the destruction of stores and private property, nothing further was accomplished, and the condition of Burgoyne became desperate. On the 7th of October he hazarded another battle, in which he lost his bravest officers and nearly seven hundred privates. The conflict was terrible, lasting from two o'clock in the afternoon till twilight. At last Morgan's riflemen singled out the brave General Fraser, who commanded the British right, and killed him. His disheartened men turned and fled from the field. On the American side, Arnold, who had resigned his commission, rode at full speed to his old command, and, *without authority*, became the inspiring genius of the battle. He charged like a madman, drove the enemy before him, eluded Gates's aid who was sent to call him back, burst into the British camp, and was severely wounded. The Americans were completely victorious.

On the night after the battle Burgoyne led his shattered army to a stronger position. The Americans immediately occupied the abandoned camp, and then pressed after the fugitives; for the British were already retreating. On the 9th of October, Burgoyne reached Saratoga and attempted to escape to Fort Edward. But Gates and Lincoln now commanded the river, and the proud

Briton was hopelessly hemmed in. He held out to the last extremity, and finally, when there were only three days between his soldiers and starvation, was driven to surrender. On the 17th of October terms of capitulation were agreed on, and the whole army, numbering five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, became prisoners of war. Among the captives were six members of the British Parliament. A splendid train of brass artillery consisting of forty-two pieces, together with nearly five thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores, was the further fruit of the victory. The valor of the patriots had fairly eclipsed the warlike renown of Great Britain.

As soon as Burgoyne's invasion was at an end, a large portion of the victorious army of the North was dispatched to the aid of Washington. For, in the meantime, a great campaign had been in progress in the South; and the patriots were sorely pressed. At the beginning of July, Howe had abandoned New Jersey. On the 23d of the same month he sailed with eighteen thousand men to attack Philadelphia by way of the Delaware. Washington, suspecting the object of the expedition, broke up his camp and marched rapidly southward. Off the capes of Virginia, Howe learned that the Americans had obstructed the Delaware, so as to prevent the passage of his fleet. He therefore determined to enter the Chesapeake, anchor at the head of the bay, and make the attack by land. As soon as Washington obtained

information of the enemy's plans, he advanced his headquarters from Philadelphia to Wilmington, and there the American army, numbering between eleven and twelve thousand men, was concentrated. The forces of Howe were vastly superior in numbers and equipment, but Washington hoped by selecting his ground and acting on the



defensive to beat back the invaders and save the capital.

On the 25th of August, the British landed at Elk River, in Maryland, and nine days afterward began their march toward Philadelphia. After a council of war and some changes in the arrangement of his forces, Washington selected the left

bank of the Brandywine as his line of defense. The left wing of the American army was stationed at Chad's Ford to dispute the passage, while the right wing, under General Sullivan, was extended for three miles up the river. On the 11th of September the British reached the opposite bank and began battle. What seemed to be their principal attack was made by the Hessians under Knyp-hausen at the ford; and here Wayne's division held the enemy in check. But the onset of Knyp-hausen was only a feint to keep the Americans engaged until a stronger column of the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, could march up the south bank of the Brandywine and cross at a point above the American right. In this way Sullivan, who was not on the alert, allowed himself to be outflanked. Washington was misled by false information; the right wing, though the men under La Fayette and Stirling fought with great courage, was crushed in by Cornwallis; and the day was hopelessly lost.

During the night the defeated patriots retreated to Westchester. Greene brought up the rear in good order; through his efforts and those of the commander-in-chief the army was saved from destruction. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing amounted to fully a thousand men; that of the British to five hundred and eighty-four. The gallant La Fayette was severely wounded; Count Pulaski, a brave Pole who had espoused the patriot cause, so distinguished himself in this engagement that Congress honored

him with the rank of brigadier and gave him command of the cavalry. On the day after the battle, Washington continued his retreat to Philadelphia, and then took post at Germantown, a few miles from the city. Undismayed by his reverse, he resolved to risk another engagement. Accordingly, on the 15th of the month, he recrossed the Schuylkill and marched toward the British camp. Twenty miles below Philadelphia he met Howe at Warren's Tavern. For a while the two armies maneuvered, the enemy gaining the better position; then a spirited skirmish ensued, and a great battle was imminent. But just as the conflict was beginning a violent tempest of wind and rain swept over the field. The combatants were deluged, their cartridges soaked, and fighting made impossible. On the next day Howe marched down the Schuylkill; Washington recrossed the river and confronted his antagonist. Howe turned suddenly about and hurried upstream along the right bank in the direction of Reading. Washington, fearing for his stores, pressed forward up the left bank to Pottstown. But the movement of the British westward was only feigned; again Howe wheeled, marched rapidly to the ford above Norristown, crossed the river, and hastened to Philadelphia. On the 26th of September the city was entered without opposition, and the main division of the British army encamped at Germantown.

At the approach of Howe, Congress adjourned to Lancaster. On the 27th of September the

members met at that place, and again adjourned to York, where they assembled on the 30th and continued to hold their sessions until the British evacuated Philadelphia in the following summer. Washington now made his camp on Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from the city. As soon as Howe found himself safe in the "rebel capital," as he was pleased to call it, he dispatched a large division of his army to capture forts Mifflin and Mercer on the Delaware. Germantown was thus considerably weakened, and Washington resolved to attempt a surprise. The same plan of attack which had been so successful at Trenton was again adopted. On the night of the 3d of October the American army, arranged in several divisions, marched silently toward Germantown. The roads were rough, and the different columns reached the British outposts at irregular intervals. The morning was foggy, and the movements of both armies were unsteady and confused. There was much severe fighting, and at one time it seemed that the British would be overwhelmed; but they gained possession of a large stone house and held it. A foolish attempt to dislodge them gave the enemy time to rally. Some strong columns of Americans were kept out of the battle by the inefficiency of their commanders; the tide turned against the patriots, and the day was lost. Of the Americans a hundred and fifty-two were killed, five hundred and twenty-one wounded, and about four hundred missing. Howe reported the British loss at five hundred and thirty-five. The

retreat of the Americans was covered by Greene and Pulaski.

On the 22d of October, Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey side of the Delaware, seven miles below Philadelphia, was assaulted by twelve hundred Hessians under Count Donop. The garrison, though numbering but four hundred, made a brave and successful resistance. The assault was like that at Bunker Hill. Count Donop received a mortal wound, and nearly four hundred of his men fell before the American intrenchments. At the same time the British fleet, assisted by a land force from Philadelphia, attacked Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, in the Delaware. Here also the assailants met with an obstinate resistance. The assault became a siege, which lasted till the 15th of November. The patriots held out against superior numbers until every gun was dismounted and every palisade demolished. Then at midnight the ruined fortress was set on fire, and the garrison escaped to Fort Mercer. To make a second attack on this place Howe dispatched two thousand men under Cornwallis. Washington sent General Greene to succor the fortress; but Cornwallis was strongly re-enforced, and the American general would not hazard a battle. On the 20th of November Fort Mercer was abandoned to the British; and thus General Howe obtained undisputed control of the Delaware.

After the battle of Germantown, Washington took up his headquarters at Whitemarsh, twelve miles from Philadelphia. Winter was approach-

ing, and the patriots began to suffer for food and clothing. Howe, knowing the distressed condition of the Americans, determined to surprise their camp. On the evening of the 2d of December he held a council of war, and it was decided to march against Washington on the following night. But Lydia Darrah, at whose house the council was held, overheard the plan of the enemies of her country. On the following morning she obtained a passport from Lord Howe, left the city on pretense of *going to mill*, rode rapidly to the American lines, and sent information of the impending attack to Washington. When, on the morning of the 4th, the British approached Whitemarsh they found the cannon mounted and the patriots standing in order of battle. The British general maneuvered for four days, and then marched back to Philadelphia. During the remainder of the winter the city was occupied by nearly twenty thousand English and Hessian soldiers. There they reveled and rioted. Everything that the magazines of Great Britain could furnish was lavished upon the army of invaders who lay warmly housed in the city of Penn. In the patriot camp there was a different scene.

On the 11th of December, Washington left his position at Whitemarsh and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge on the right bank of the Schuylkill. The march thither occupied four days. Thousands of the soldiers were without shoes, and the frozen ground was marked with bloody footprints. The sagacity of Washington had pointed

to a strong position for his encampment. To the security of the river and hills the additional security of redoubts and intrenchments was added. Log cabins were built for the soldiers, and everything was done that could be done to secure the comfort of the suffering patriots. But it was a long and dreary winter; moaning and anguish



In Camp at Valley Forge

were heard in the camp, and the echo fell heavy on the soul of the commander. These were the darkest days of Washington's life. Congress in a measure abandoned him, the people withheld their sympathies. The brilliant success of the army of the North was unjustly compared with the reverses of the army of the South. Many men high in military and civil station left the great

leader unsupported in the hour of his grief; even Samuel Adams, impatient under calamity, withdrew his confidence. There was a miserable conspiracy headed by Gates, Conway, and Mifflin. Washington was to be superseded, and Gates or Lee was to be made commander-in-chief. But the alienation was only for a moment; the allegiance of the army remained unshaken, and the nation's confidence in the troubled chieftain became stronger than ever. Still, at the close of 1777, the patriot cause was obscured with clouds and misfortune.

CHAPTER V

FRANCE TO THE RESCUE

FOUR months before the declaration of independence, Silas Deane of Connecticut was appointed commissioner to France. His business at the French court was to act as the political and commercial agent of the United Colonies. His first service was to make a secret arrangement with Beaumarchais, a rich French merchant, by which the latter was to supply the Americans with the materials necessary for carrying on the war. The king of France and his prime minister, Vergennes, winked at this proceeding; but the agents of Great Britain were jealous and suspicious, and it was not until the autumn of 1777 that a ship laden with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of arms, am-

munition, and specie could be sent to America. In that ship came Baron Steuben, a veteran soldier and disciplinarian from the army of Frederic the Great. Being appointed inspector-general by Congress, Steuben repaired to Valley Forge and reported to Washington for service. Immediately he was set to drilling and training the men according to the best standards of the Old World. By spring he had the army well trained, and capable of measuring up, man for man, with the British regulars, and never again were they beaten when confronted by the British in equal numbers.

In November of 1776, Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin had been appointed by Congress to negotiate an open treaty of friendship and commerce with the French king. In the following month they reached Paris and began their conferences with Vergennes. For a long time King Louis and his minister were wary of the proposed alliance. They cordially hated Great Britain, they rejoiced that the British empire was about to be dismembered, they gave secret encouragement to the colonies to hold out in their rebellion, they loaned money and shipped arms to America; but an open alliance was equivalent to a war with England, and that the French court dreaded.

Now it was that the genius of Dr. Franklin shone with a peculiar luster. At the gay court of Louis XVI. he stood as the representative of his country. No nation ever had an ambassador of greater wisdom and sagacity. His reputation for learning had preceded him; the dignity of his de-

meanor and the simplicity of his manners added to his fame. Whether a philosopher or diplomatist, no man in that great city of fashion was the equal of the venerable American patriot. His wit and genial humor made him admired; his talents and courtesy commanded respect; his patience and perseverance gave him final success. During the whole of 1777 he remained at Paris and Versailles, availing himself of every opportunity to



Benjamin Franklin

promote the interests of his country. At last came the news of Burgoyne's surrender. A powerful British army had been subdued by the colonists without aid from abroad. The success of the American arms and the prospect of commercial advantage decided the wavering policy of the king, and in the beginning of winter he made

an announcement of his determination to accept an alliance with the colonies. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty was concluded; France acknowledged the independence of the United States and entered into relations of reciprocal friendship with the new nation. It was further stipulated that in case England should declare war against France, the Americans and the French should make common cause, and that neither should

subscribe to a treaty of peace without the concurrence of the other. In America the news of the new alliance was received with great rejoicing; in England, with vindictive anger.

Benjamin Franklin, the author of the first treaty between the United States and a foreign nation, was born in Boston on the 17th of January, 1706. His father was a manufacturer of soap and candles. To this humble vocation the young Benjamin was devoted by his parents; but the walls of a candle-shop were too narrow for his aspiring genius. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to his brother to learn the art of printing; but the brother beat him, and he ran off to New York. There he found no employment. In 1723 he repaired to Philadelphia, entered a printing office, and rose to distinction. He visited England; returned; founded the first circulating library in America; became a man of science; edited *Poor Richard's Almanac*; originated the American Philosophical Society; discovered the identity of electricity and lightning; made himself known in both hemispheres; espoused the cause of the patriots; and devoted the unimpaired energies of his old age to perfecting the American Union. The name of Franklin is one of the brightest in the history of any nation.

In May of 1778, Congress ratified the treaty with France. A month before this time a French fleet, commanded by Count d'Estaing, had been dispatched to America. The object was to sail into the Delaware and blockade the British squad-

ron at Philadelphia. Both France and Great Britain understood full well that war was inevitable, and each immediately prepared for the conflict. George III. now became willing to treat with his American subjects. Lord North, the prime minister, brought forward two bills in which everything that the colonists had at first claimed was conceded. The bills were passed by Parliament, and the king assented. Commissioners were sent to America; but Congress informed them that nothing but an express acknowledgment of the independence of the United States would now be accepted. Then the commissioners tried bribery and intrigue; and Congress would hold no further conference with them.

From September of 1777 until the following June the British army remained at Philadelphia. The fleet of Admiral Howe lay in the Delaware. In the spring of 1778, General Howe was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton. When the rumor came that the fleet of D'Estaing was approaching, the English admiral withdrew from the Delaware and sailed for New York. Finally, on the 18th of June, the British army evacuated Philadelphia and retreated across New Jersey. Washington occupied the city, crossed the river, and followed the retreating foe. At Monmouth, eighteen miles southeast of New Brunswick, the British were overtaken. On the morning of the 28th General Lee was ordered to attack the enemy. The first onset was made by the American cavalry under La Fayette; but they were driven back by Corn-

wallis and Clinton. Lee, who had opposed the battle, and was not anxious for victory, ordered his line to fall back to a stronger position; but the troops mistook the order and began a retreat, the British charging after them. Washington met the fugitives, rallied them, administered a severe rebuke to Lee, and ordered him to the rear. During the rest of the engagement the haughty officer, half-treacherous in his principles and practices, remained at a distance, making satirical remarks about the battle. The fight continued till night-fall; the advantage was with the Americans; and Washington, in hope of a complete victory, anxiously waited for the morning. During the night, however, Clinton succeeded in withdrawing his forces from the field, and thus escaped the peril of defeat.

The loss of the Americans in the battle of Monmouth was sixty-seven killed and a hundred and sixty wounded. The British left nearly three hundred dead on the field. On the day after the battle Washington received an insulting letter from Lee demanding an apology for the language which the commander-in-chief had used. Washington replied that the language was warranted by the circumstances. This Lee answered in a still more offensive manner, and was thereupon arrested, tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from his command for twelve months. The brave, rash man never re-entered the service, and did not live to see his country's independence.

The British land and naval forces were now

concentrated at New York. Washington followed, crossed the Hudson, and took up his headquarters at White Plains. Count d'Estaing's fleet sailed for Sandy Hook and later for Newport, Rhode Island, where the British, commanded by General Pigot, were in strong force. At the same time a division of the American army, led by General Sullivan, proceeded to Providence to co-operate with the French fleet in the attack on Newport. Greene and La Fayette came with re-enforcements, and the whole army took post at Tiverton. On the 9th of August, Sullivan succeeded in crossing the eastern passage of the bay, and secured a favorable position on the island. A joint attack by land and sea was planned for the following day. On that morning, however, the fleet of Lord Howe, who had left New York in pursuit of the French, came in sight; and D'Estaing, instead of beginning the bombardment of Newport, sailed out to give battle to Howe. Just as the two squadrons were about to begin an engagement a violent storm arose by which the fleets were parted and greatly damaged. D'Estaing repaired to Boston, and Howe returned to New York.

Sullivan laid siege to Newport; but when the French squadron sailed away, he found it necessary to retreat. The British pursued the Americans, and overtook them in the northern part of the island; a battle ensued, and Pigot was repulsed with a loss of two hundred and sixty men. On the following night Sullivan succeeded in reaching the mainland; and it was well that he did so; for on

the next day General Clinton arrived at Newport with a division of four thousand regulars. The Americans saved themselves by hastily retiring from the neighborhood. Clinton, having sent out a detachment under Colonel Grey to burn the American shipping in Buzzard's Bay, destroy the stores in New Bedford, and ravage Martha's Vineyard, returned to New York.

The command of the British naval forces in America was now transferred from Lord Howe to Admiral Byron. Sir Henry Clinton, unable to accomplish anything in honorable warfare, descended to marauding and robbery. Early in October a band of incendiaries, led by Ferguson, burned the American ships at Little Egg Harbor. For several miles inland the country was devastated, houses pillaged, barns burned, patriots murdered. To the preceding July belongs the sad story of the Wyoming massacre. Major John Butler, a Tory of Niagara, raised a company of sixteen hundred loyalists, Canadians, and Indians, and marched into the valley of Wyoming, county of Luzerne, Pennsylvania. The settlement was defenseless. The fathers and brothers were away in the patriot army. There were some feeble forts on the Susquehanna in the neighborhood of Wilkesbarre, but they were useless without defenders. On the approach of the Tories and savages the few militia remaining in the valley, together with the old men and boys, rallied for the defense of their homes. A battle was fought, and the poor patriots were utterly routed. The fugitives

fled to the principal fort, which was crowded with women and children. On came the murderous horde, and demanded a surrender. Honorable terms were promised by Butler, and the garrison capitulated. On the 5th of July the gates were opened, and the barbarians entered. Immediately they began to plunder, then to burn, and then to use the hatchet and the scalping-knife. There is no authentic record of the horrible atrocities that followed. The savages, divided into parties, scattered through the valley, plundered, robbed, burned, and drove almost every surviving family into the swamps or mountains. In this way George III. would subdue the American colonies.

November witnessed a similar massacre at the village of Cherry Valley, Otsego county, New York. This time the invaders were led by Joseph Brant, the Mohawk sachem, and Walter Butler, a son of Major John Butler. The people of Cherry Valley were driven from their homes; every house in the village was burned; women and children were tomahawked and scalped; and forty miserable sufferers dragged into captivity. To avenge these outrages an expedition was sent against the savages on the upper Susquehanna; and they in turn were made to feel the terrors of war. In the preceding December the famous Major Clarke had received from Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, a commission to proceed against the Indians west of the Alleghanies. The expedition left Pittsburg in the spring of 1778; descended to the mouth of the Ohio; and

on the 4th of the following July captured Kaskaskia. Other important posts were taken; and in August, Vincennes was forced to capitulate.

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tirement from Newport was made with so much haste that the heavy guns and large quantities of stores were left behind. Such were the leading military movements in the North.

Meanwhile, the war had continued in Georgia and South Carolina; and the patriots had met with many reverses. On the 29th of January the British captured Augusta and for a while the whole of Georgia was prostrated before the king's soldiery. In the meantime, the Tories of western Carolina had risen in arms and were advancing to join the forces at Augusta. While marching thither they were attacked and defeated in a canebrake by the patriots under Captain Anderson. On the 14th of February the Tories were again overtaken in the country west of Broad River. Colonel Pickens, at the head of the Carolina militia, fell upon them with such fury that the whole force was annihilated. Colonel Boyd, the Tory leader, and seventy of his men were killed. Seventy-five others were captured, tried for treason, and condemned to death; but only five of the ringleaders were hanged. On receiving intelligence of what had happened, the British hastily evacuated Augusta and retreated toward Savannah. The western half of Georgia was recovered more quickly than it had been lost.

While the British were retreating down the river, General Lincoln, who now commanded the American forces in the South, sent General Ashe with a division of two thousand men to intercept the enemy. Crossing the Savannah, Ashe met the

enemy at Briar Creek and a battle was fought on the 3d of March. The Americans, after losing more than three hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, were totally routed and driven into the swamps and river. The remnants of Ashe's army rejoined General Lincoln at Perrysburg. The shock of this defeat again prostrated Georgia, and a royal government was established over the State.

But the Carolinians rallied with great vigor. Within a month General Lincoln was again in the field with a force of more than five thousand men. Still hoping to reconquer Georgia, he advanced up the left bank of the river in the direction of Augusta; but at the same time General Prevost crossed the Savannah and marched against Charleston. On the 12th of May he summoned the city to surrender, but General Moultrie, who commanded the patriots, was in no humor to do it. Prevost made preparations for a siege; but learning that General Lincoln had turned back to attack him, he made a hasty retreat. The Americans pursued, overtook the enemy at Stono Ferry, ten miles west of Charleston, made an imprudent attack, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Before retiring from the State, Prevost established a post at Beaufort, and then fell back to Savannah. From June until September military operations were almost wholly suspended.

And now came Count d'Estaing with his fleet from the West Indies to Carolina to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savan-

nah. Prevost was alarmed, and concentrated his forces for the defense of the city. The storm-winds of the equinox were approaching, and D'Estaing stipulated with the Americans that his fleet should not be long detained on that coast devoid of harbors. On the 12th of September the French, numbering six thousand, effected a landing, and advanced to the siege. Eleven days elapsed before the slow-moving General Lincoln arrived with his forces. Meanwhile, on the 16th of the month, D'Estaing had demanded a surrender; but Prevost, who asked a day for consultation and used it in strengthening his works and in receiving re-enforcements from Beaufort, answered with a message of defiance. After Lincoln's arrival the siege was prosecuted with great vigor. The city was bombarded well-nigh to destruction; the people were driven into the cellars, and dared not venture forth on peril of their lives. But the British defenses remained unshaken. At last the impatient D'Estaing notified Lincoln that the city must be stormed or the siege abandoned. The former course was preferred. On the 8th of October a conference was held, and it was determined to make the assault at daylight on the following morning.

Accordingly, an hour before sunrise the allies advanced against the redoubts of the British. The attack was made irregularly, but with great vehemence; the defense, with desperate determination. The struggle around the ramparts was brief but furious. At one time it seemed that the works

would be carried. The French and the patriots mounted the parapet and planted the flags of Carolina and France. But the emblems of victory, with those who bore them, were hurled into the dust. Here the brave Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, fell to rise no more. After an hour of the most gallant fighting, the allied columns were shattered and driven back with fearful losses. D'Estaing was twice wounded. The noble Pulaski was struck with a grape-shot and borne dying from the field. The repulse was complete, humiliating, disastrous. D'Estaing retired with his men on board the fleet and sailed for France. Lincoln with the remnant of his army retreated to Charleston.

While the siege of Savannah was progressing, the American arms were made famous on the ocean. On the 23d of September, Paul Jones, cruising off the coast of Scotland with a flotilla of French and American vessels, fell in with a fleet of British merchantmen, convoyed by two men-of-war. The battle that ensued was bloody beyond precedent in naval warfare. For an hour and a half the *Serapis*, a British frigate of forty-



Medal Awarded to John Paul Jones by Congress

four guns, engaged the *Poor Richard* * within musket-shot. Then the vessels, both in a sinking condition, were run alongside and lashed together. The marines fought with the fury of madmen until the *Serapis* struck her colors. Jones hastily transferred his men to the conquered ship, and the *Poor Richard* went down. The remaining British vessel was also attacked and captured. So desperate was the engagement that of the three hundred and seventy-five men on board the fleet of Jones three hundred were either killed or wounded.

So closed the year 1779. The colonies were not yet free. The French alliance, which had promised so much, had brought but little benefit. The credit of Congress had sunk almost to nothing; the national treasury was bankrupt. The patriots of the army were poorly fed, and paid only with unkept promises. The disposition of Great Britain was best illustrated in the measures adopted by Parliament for the campaigns of the ensuing year. The levies made by the House of Commons were eighty-five thousand marines and thirty-five thousand additional troops; while the extraordinary expenses of the War Department were set at twenty million pounds sterling.

* So named in honor of Dr. Franklin's almanac.

CHAPTER VII

REVERSES AND TREASON

DURING the year 1780 military operations at the North were, for the most part, suspended. Twice did the British under Knyphausen advance from New York into New Jersey; and twice they were driven back. Early in July, Admiral De Ternay arrived at Newport with a French squadron and six thousand land troops under Count Rochambeau. The Americans were greatly elated at the coming of their allies; but Washington's army was in so destitute a condition that active co-operation was impracticable. In September the commander-in-chief held a conference with Rochambeau, and the plans of future campaigns were in part determined.

In the South there was much activity, and the patriots suffered many reverses. South Carolina was completely overrun with the invading armies. On the 11th of February, Admiral Arbuthnot, in command of a British squadron, anchored before Charleston. Sir Henry Clinton and a division of five thousand men from the army in New York were on board the fleet. The plan of the campaign was to subjugate the whole South, beginning with Charleston. The city was defended by fourteen hundred men, under General Lincoln, who began his preparations by fortifying the neck of the peninsula. The British effected a landing

a few miles below the harbor, advanced up the right bank of Ashley River, and crossed to the north of the city. A month was spent by Clinton in making cautious approaches toward the American intrenchments. On the 7th of April, General Lincoln was re-enforced by seven hundred veterans from Virginia. Two days afterward Admiral Arbuthnot, favored by the wind and tide, succeeded in passing Fort Moultrie with his fleet, and anchored within cannon-shot of the city. A summons to surrender was answered by Lincoln with the assurance that Charleston would be defended to the last extremity.

A siege was at once begun, and prosecuted with great vigor. Desiring to keep a way open for retreat, Lincoln sent a body of three hundred men under General Huger to scour the country north of Cooper River and rally the militia. Apprised of this movement, Tarleton with a legion of British cavalry stole upon Huger's forces at Monk's Corner, thirty miles north of Charleston, routed, and dispersed the whole company. The city was now fairly hemmed in, and the thunder of two hundred cannon shook the beleaguered ramparts. From the beginning the defense had been hopeless, and every day the condition of the town became more desperate. Finally the fortifications were beaten down, and Clinton made ready to storm the American works; not till then did Lincoln and the civil authorities, dreading the havoc of an assault, agree to capitulate. On the 12th of May the principal city of the South was given up

to the British, and the men who had so bravely defended it became prisoners of war.

A few days before the surrender Tarleton, who was ranging the country to the north and west, surprised and dispersed a body of militia who had gathered on the Santee. After the capture of the city, three expeditions were directed into different sections of the State. The American post at Ninety-Six, a hundred and fifty miles northwest of the capital, was seized. A second detachment of the British invaded the country bordering on the Savannah. Cornwallis with the principal division marched to the northeast, crossed the Santee, and captured Georgetown, near the mouth of the Great Pedee. Here he learned that Colonel Buford, with a body of five hundred patriots, who had left North Carolina for the relief of Charleston, was now retreating through the district north of Camden. Tarleton with seven hundred cavalry pressed rapidly across the country, overtook the Americans on the Waxhaw, a tributary of the Catawba, surprised them, and, while negotiations for a surrender were pending, charged upon and massacred nearly the whole company. For this atrocious deed Cornwallis commended Tarleton to the special favor of the British Parliament.

By such means the authority of Great Britain was re-established over South Carolina. As soon as the work was done, Clinton and Arbuthnot, with about half of the British army, sailed for New York. Cornwallis was left with the remainder

to hold the conquered territory; for it was the *territory*, and not the *people*, who were conquered. In this condition of affairs, two daring patriot leaders arose to rescue the republican cause. These men, ever afterward famous, were Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion. Under their leadership the militia in the central and western portions of the State, especially on the upper tributaries of Broad River, were rallied, armed, and mounted. An audacious partisan warfare was begun, and exposed detachments of the British army were swept off as though an enemy had fallen on them from the skies. At Rocky Mount, on the Wateree, Colonel Sumter burst upon a party of dragoons, who barely saved themselves. On the 6th of August he attacked a large detachment of regulars and Tories at Hanging Rock, in Lancaster county, defeated them, and retreated. It was in this battle that young Andrew Jackson began his career as a soldier.

The exploits of Sumter were even surpassed by those of Marion. His company consisted at first of twenty men and boys, white and black, half-clad and poorly armed. But the number constantly increased, and the "Ragged Regiment" soon became a terror to the enemy. Every British outpost was in peril. There was no telling when or where the sword of the fearless leader would fall. From the swamps at midnight he and his men would suddenly dart upon the encampments of the enemy, sweeping everything before them. When the British expected Marion in front, he would as-

sail the rearguard with the utmost fury, and then disappear; when they thought him hovering on their flank, he was a hundred miles away. During the whole summer and autumn of 1780 he swept around Cornwallis's positions, cutting his lines of communication and making incessant onsets with an audacity as destructive as it was provoking. In the midst of this wild and lawless warfare, Marion preserved an unblemished reputation. Fifteen years afterward, when he lay on his deathbed, he declared that he had never intentionally wronged any man; and it was truthfully written on his monument that he lived without fear and died without reproach.

After the fall of Charleston, General Gates was appointed to command in the South. With a strong force of regulars and such militia as would join his standard, he advanced across North Carolina, and at the beginning of August reached the southern boundary of the State. Lord Rawdon, who commanded the British posts in the northern parts of South Carolina, called in his detachments and concentrated his forces at Camden. Hither came also Cornwallis with re-enforcements from Charleston and Georgetown. The Americans moved forward and took post at Clermont, thirteen miles northwest from Camden. By a singular coincidence Cornwallis and Gates each formed the design of surprising his antagonist in the night. Accordingly, on the evening of the 15th of August, Gates set out for Camden, and at the same time Cornwallis moved toward Clermont. About

daydawn the two armies met midway on Sander's Creek. Both generals were surprised, but both made immediate preparations for battle. As soon as it was light the conflict began. Steadiness and courage in all parts of the field would have given the victory to the Americans, but at the first onset the Virginia and Carolina militia broke line, threw their arms away, and fled. For a while the Continentals of Maryland and Delaware sustained the battle with great bravery, but at length they were outflanked by Webster's cavalry and driven back. The American officers made heroic efforts to save the day, but all in vain; the retreat became a rout. Baron de Kalb, the friend of La Fayette and fellow-sufferer with Washington at Valley Forge, remained on the field trying to rally his men until he was wounded eleven times and fell in the agony of death. More than a thousand of the Americans were killed, wounded, or captured. The shattered remnants continued the retreat to Charlotte, North Carolina, eighty miles distant. The military reputation of Gates, which never had any solid foundation, was blown away like chaff, and he was superseded by General Greene, who, after Washington, was the best officer of the Revolution.

Cornwallis was again master of South Carolina. A few days after the battle of Sander's Creek, Sumter's corps was overtaken by Tarleton at Fishing Creek, thirty miles northwest from Camden, and completely routed. Only Marion and his troopers remained to harass the victorious enemy.

The triumph of the British was marked by cruelty and oppression. Cornwallis visited the patriots with merciless severity, and the ruined State crouched at the feet of the conqueror. On the 8th of September the British advanced from Camden into North Carolina, and on the 25th reached Charlotte, the Americans having retreated to Salisbury. While this movement was in progress, Colonel Ferguson, with a force of eleven hundred regulars and Tories, was sent into the country west of the Catawba to overawe the patriots and encourage the loyalists to take up arms. On the 7th of October, while Ferguson and his men were encamped on the top of King's Mountain, they were suddenly attacked by a thousand riflemen led by Colonel Campbell. The camp was surrounded; a desperate battle of an hour and a half ensued; Ferguson was slain, and three hundred of his men were killed or wounded; the remaining eight hundred threw down their arms and begged for quarter. On the morning after the battle ten of the leading Tory prisoners were condemned by a court-martial and hanged. During the remaining two months of the year there were no military movements of importance. Georgia and South Carolina were in the power of the British, and North Carolina was invaded.

Meanwhile, the financial credit of the nation was sinking to the lowest ebb. Congress, having no silver and gold with which to meet the accumulating expenses of the war, had resorted to paper money. At first the expedient was success-

ful, and the continental bills were received at par; but as one issue followed another, the value of the notes rapidly diminished, until, by the middle of 1780, they were not worth two cents to the dollar. To aggravate the evil, the emissaries of Great Britain executed counterfeits of the congressional money and sowed the spurious bills broadcast over the land. Business was paralyzed for the want of a currency, and the distress became extreme; but Robert Morris and a few other wealthy patriots came forward with their private fortunes and saved the suffering colonies from ruin. The mothers of America also lent a helping hand; and the patriot camp was gladdened with many a contribution of food and clothing which woman's sacrificing care had provided.

In the midst of the general gloom the country was shocked by the rumor that Benedict Arnold had turned traitor. And the news, though hardly credible, was true. The brave, rash man, who, on behalf of the patriot cause, had suffered untold hardships and shed his blood on more fields than one, had blotted the record of his heroism with a deed of treason. After the battle of Bemis's Heights, in the fall of 1777, Arnold was promoted by Congress to the rank of major-general. Being disabled by his wound, he was made commandant of Philadelphia after the evacuation of the city by the British. Here he married the daughter of a loyalist, and living in the old mansion of William Penn entered upon a career of luxury and extravagance which soon overwhelmed him with debt and

bankruptcy. In order to keep up his magnificence, he began a system of frauds on the commissary department of the army. His bearing toward the citizens was that of a military despot; the people groaned under his tyranny, and charges were preferred against him by Congress. The cause was finally heard by a court-martial in December of 1779. Arnold was convicted on two of the charges, and, by the order of the court, was mildly reprimanded by Washington.

Professing unbounded patriotism, and seeming to forget the disgrace which his misconduct had brought upon him, Arnold applied for and obtained command of the important fortress of West Point on the Hudson. On the last day of July, 1780, he reached the camp and assumed control of the most valuable arsenal and dépôt of stores in America. He had already formed the treasonable design of surrendering the fort into the hands of the enemy. For months he had kept up a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and now the scheme ripened, on Arnold's part, into an open proposition to betray his country for gold. It was agreed that on a certain day the British fleet should ascend the Hudson, that the garrison should be divided and scattered, and the fortress given up without a struggle.

On the 21st of September, Sir Henry Clinton sent Major John André up the river to hold a personal conference with Arnold and make the final arrangements for the surrender. André, through whom the correspondence between Arnold and

Clinton had been carried on, was a former acquaintance of Arnold's wife, and now held the post of adjutant-general in the British army. He went to the conference, not as a spy, but wearing full uniform; and it was agreed that the meeting should be held outside of the American lines. About midnight of the 21st he went ashore from the *Vulture*, a sloop of war, and met Arnold in a thicket on the west bank of the river, two miles below Haverstraw. Daydawn approached, and the conspirators were obliged to hide themselves. In doing so they entered the American lines; Arnold gave the password, and André, disguising himself, assumed the character of a spy.

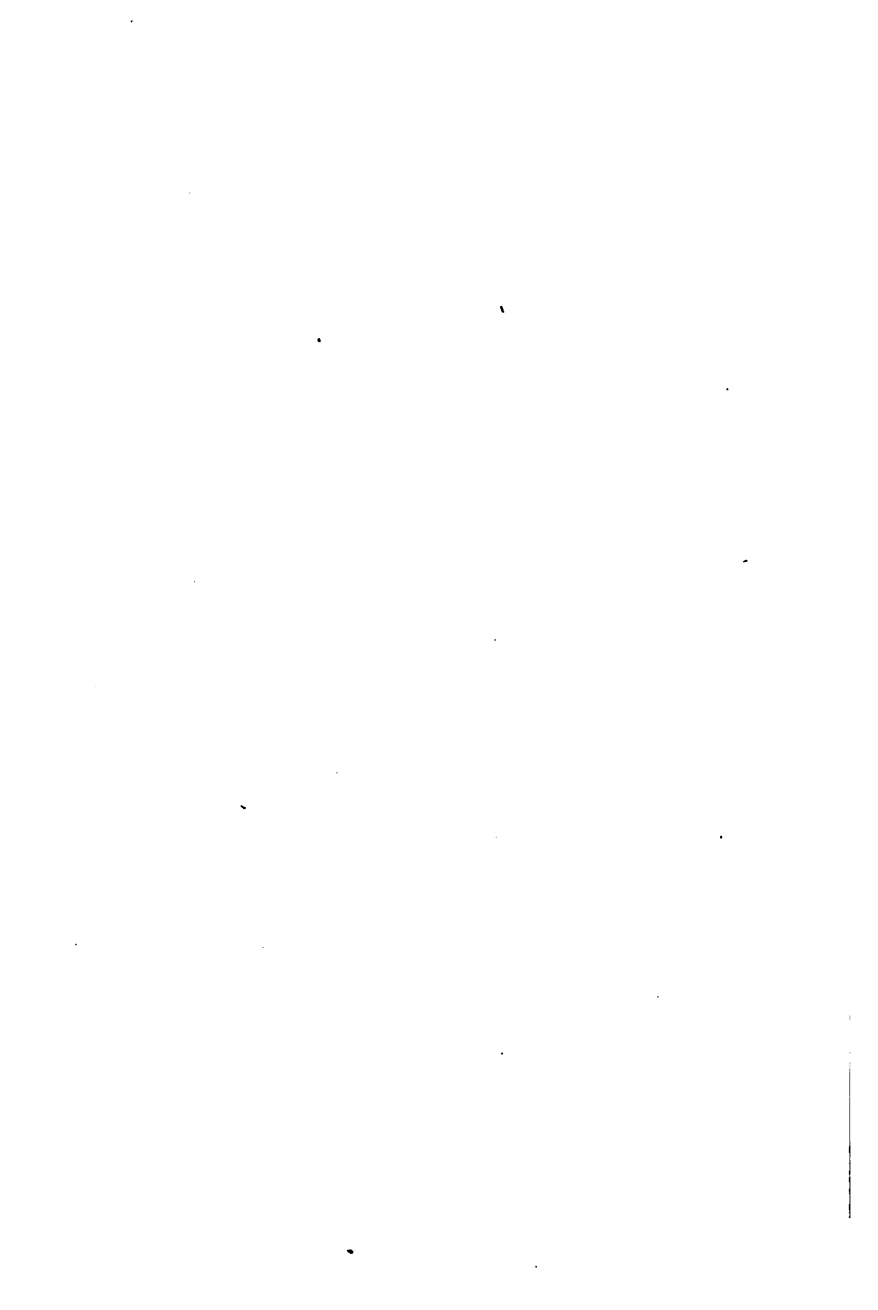
During the next day the traitor and his victim remained concealed at the house of a Tory named Smith. Here the awful business was completed. Arnold was to surrender West Point, its garrison and stores, and to receive for his treachery ten thousand pounds and a commission as brigadier in the British army. All preliminaries being settled, papers containing a full description of West Point, its defenses, and the best method of attack were made out and given to André, who secreted the dangerous documents in his stockings. During that day an American battery drove the *Vulture* from its moorings in the river; and at nightfall André was obliged to cross to the other side and proceed by land toward New York. He passed the American outposts in safety; but at Tarrytown, twenty-five miles from the city, he was suddenly

confronted by three militiamen,* who stripped him, found his papers, and delivered him to Colonel Jameson at North Castle. Through that officer's amazing stupidity Arnold was at once notified that *John Anderson*—that being the assumed name of André—had been taken with his passport and some papers “of a very dangerous tendency.” Arnold, on hearing the news, fled to the river and escaped on board the *Vulture*. André was tried by a court-martial at Tappan, and condemned to death. On the 2d of October he was led to the gallows, and, under the stern code of war, was hanged. Though dying the death of a felon, he met his doom like a brave man, and after times have commiserated his sad fate. Arnold received his *pay*.

In the dark days of December there came a ray of light from Europe. For several years Holland had secretly favored the Americans; now she began negotiations for a commercial treaty similar to that already existing between France and the United States. Great Britain discovered the purposes of the Dutch government; there were angry remonstrances, and then, on the 20th of December, an open declaration of war. Thus the Netherlands were added to the enemies of England; it seemed that George III. and his ministers would have enough to do without further efforts to enforce a stamp act or levy a tax on tea.

* John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac van Wart. Congress afterward rewarded them with silver medals and pensions for life.





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